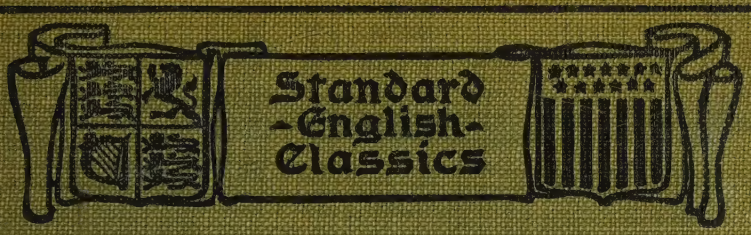

THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THACKERAY

THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY

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PREFACE

An attempt has been made to adapt this edition of the "Humorists" to the use of either college or preparatory school. To that end the notes are rather full in number but brief in the space given to each note, in order that the book may be satisfactorily complete for the uses of younger students, and yet at the same time be able to furnish the advanced student with sufficient references for further inquiry. The essays are exceptionally rich in allusions, very happy and suggestive allusions, and the purpose of the notes is to increase rather than to satisfy the student's curiosity regarding them. I know of no better book than the "Humorists" to afford a starting point for a more or less extensive reading.

For advice and timely criticism in the work, I wish to thank my friends, Professor W. P. Trent, of Columbia, Professor M. G. Callaway, Jr., and Professor Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas; and for help with the references and otherwise, Miss E. M. Pool of St. Agatha School, New York City, and Mr. Paul McDermott and Miss Katherine Searcy, of the University of Texas.

By the courtesy of Messrs. Harper and Brothers, the text here used, with the accompanying footnotes, is that of the Biographical Edition of Thackeray's works.

To the editions of the "Humorists" by Professor W. L. Phelps (1900) and Ernst Regel (Halle, 1885–1891, in six parts) I wish to express my sense of indebtedness for general suggestions and for several points as indicated in my notes.

STARK YOUNG

The University of Texas

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INTRODUCTION

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THACKERAY'S LIFE

Thackeray was born in Calcutta on the 18th of July, 1811. His father and both his grandfathers were in the Indian civil service. His mother, Anne Becher, married young: she was only nineteen when William Makepeace was born. Five years after his birth she was left a widow, and six years later married Major Henry Carmichael Smyth, who was all to Thackeray that a father could have been. For the better climate and educational advantages afforded, the child was sent, when he was five years old, to England. On the way his ship stopped at St. Helena, and the young Thackeray was taken to see Napoleon, whose second funeral he was to attend and record many years later. In England he was put in the care of his aunt, Mrs. Ritchie of Chiswick. We have yet the little letters of that year; in one of them — and quite out of his later style and attitude — he writes back to his mother that "my Aunt Ritchie is very good to me," and "I like Chiswick, there are so many good boys to play with;" from this year, too, it is also recorded that his head was alarmingly big for his age, that he drew the house in India with his monkey in the window, and begged for pennies to spend, — all characteristic enough. He was sent to Charterhouse School at the age of eleven, where for six years he lived or rather endured the rough and Spartan life of the old time public school. His letters to his mother, who was now in England, tell that he works hard, forms plans, makes resolutions, fights his way to a broken nose to carry through life with

him, and from a heavy heart wishes there were 369 instead of 370 fellows in school.

At eighteen he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, but left the following year. He had not distinguished himself certainly; perhaps he had found the academic but a sorry trade. He seems, however, to have found one real interest in the launching of the humorous weekly, the *Snob;* for which, among other contributions, he wrote "Timbuctoo," a burlesque parallel of Tennyson's prize poem on the same subject. The *Snob* was doomed to a run of nine weeks, and was followed by the more fortunate *Gownsman,* which achieved some seventeen numbers before its death. Along with these activities on the *Gownsman* and the *Snob*, were wine suppers, teas, and a projected essay club. Otherwise at the University Thackeray seems to have read much, studied at his leisure, heaped up a mountain of good resolutions from his generous heart, and gotten himself put down as "somewhat lazy but pleasant and gentlemanlike."

From Cambridge young Thackeray went to the Continent. He began there a roving life: from place to place, Rome, Paris, Weimar, wherever his whims and purposes might send him; studying languages and art, observing, idling, storing up knowledge of men and memories of pleasant hours. He picked up a French accent to be proud of all his life, learned German and loved Schiller; and in Weimar, that little Athens of a day, was invited to Goethe's tea parties and had his drawings praised. Meantime in Weimar in the midst of the parties and the novel-reading on easy sofas, the grim future looked in upon him, and like a good youth he set himself as of old toward worthy plans and resolutions, which as of old he was never to keep. Among these resolutions was a solemn project of entering the law. He returned to England at length and took chambers in Hare Court, Temple. How he liked it is not hard to guess. He sketched himself seated on

his high stool, with his blue coat, his decrepit client, and his little clerk bringing five huge volumes up a ladder to him. "This lawyer's preparatory education," he writes, "is certainly one of the most cold-blooded, prejudiced pieces of invention that ever a man was slave to. . . . The sun won't shine into Tapprell's chambers, and the high stools don't blossom and bring forth buds." We find him taking trips to Paris now and then to relieve the tedium, making jaunts into the country, and once across to Cornwall to forward an election canvass.

In 1832 he came of age and inherited a fortune of something like £500 a year. The failure of an Indian investment, however, together with gambling and two unhappy newspaper ventures with his stepfather, caused him to lose it all, and left him after a year or two reduced to the necessity of earning his bread. But "if thou hast never been a fool," as he wrote in after years, "be sure thou wilt never be a wise man;" and the experience gained, of life and doings of every sort, stayed with him on into the years and entered into his books. Indeed the extent to which Thackeray embodies his experience in his writings is one of the most notable things about his work. Memories of these early years appear in "Pendennis," "Lovel the Widower," "The Newcomes," and elsewhere.

It was generally thought by his friends that Thackeray's final intention was to turn to his drawing as a profession and support; but he seems to have meant all along to continue his writing, to try his fortune in literature. He continued his work for the *Constitutional*, — one of the papers that had lost him his money, — serving as the Paris correspondent; and he began the connection with *Fraser's Magazine* that was to end so happily for him. In 1836 appeared his first book, a folio of lithographs, *Flore et Zephyr*, published in Paris and London at the same time. The sale of this was next to nothing. In the same year he married, at the residence of the

British ambassador in Paris, Isabella Shawe, the daughter of an Irish gentleman. During the next six years he wrote steadily for a living, stories, book reviews, art criticisms, poems and ballads, whatever the editors wished, his work appearing in *Fraser's*, the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Ainsworth's*, the *Times*, and the *Westminster Review*, over various pen-names, Michael Angelo Titmarsh, Charles Yellowplush, George Fitz Boodle, and others, according to his fancy. Perhaps his best story of this period is "The Great Hoggarty Diamond." Thackeray's critical work, while not great criticism, was marked by charity, appreciation, and good sense, an easy insight and judgment, with a saving air of humor around it all. His attitude, however, is usually personal, surprisingly so in his reviews of French literature, considering his familiarity with the Continental mind and taste. His serious poetry, though it lacks high charm and genius, and in its workmanship the stamp of high art, has nevertheless a certain touch of real feeling, and succeeds at times in making the sentiment effective, — as, for instance, in the "Cane-Bottomed Chair."

Thackeray's married life was for a time of the happiest. But from the illness attending the birth of the third child, Mrs. Thackeray passed into the disease that never left her; she fell into a great mental depression which finally called for constant oversight, and Thackeray's home was broken up. Years after, in that beautiful spirit of his, he wrote: "Though my marriage was a wreck, as you know, I would do it over again, for behold Love is the crown and completion of all earthly good." Still young, for he was under thirty, Thackeray found himself with the woman he loved lost to him, his home life gone, and his children taken away. He took up his old life again, and lived for a while among his Bohemian friends, at the clubs and eating-houses, working for *Fraser's* and for *Punch*, and publishing in 1842 his "Irish

Sketchbook." In 1844 he went with a party of friends — The Peninsular and Oriental Company furnishing the ticket — to the East. We have the record of his trip in "From Cornhill to Grand Cairo."

Meantime his contributions to *Punch* were going on,—poems, ballads, burlesques, mock histories,—whatever sprang from the almost animal spirits of that humor and wit of his. Many of these Thackeray himself illustrated. He could never have been a great artist, perhaps; that is not the question. But his drawing, though not artistic, not even correct always, does succeed in its primary purpose: it is interpretative, and characteristic of the subject matter, and full of life. It was almost wholly the gift of the illustrator rather than of the larger artist. "Barry Lyndon" appeared in 1844 in *Fraser's* with moderate success, and in *Punch* two years later the first of the famous *Snob* papers. These were busy years with Thackeray; but in spite of the fact that he worked steadily and unremittingly, and was well enough known among editors and authors, he met with a persistent failure to hit the public taste.

Then at last, in January, 1847, when he was thirty-six, came the first installment of the book that was to establish him in the popular applause, "Vanity Fair." "Vanity Fair" triumphed in spite of the public taste rather than because of it. Here was a novel without a hero; with a comfortable, devoted little heroine, too truly feminine in some respects to be palatable, and after all scarcely so much the heroine as her wicked little friend, Becky Sharp. The satire, the power, the truth of the book, told in the end, however, as must have happened sooner or later, and stamped it as one of the greatest novels in the language. "Vanity Fair" appeared in twenty-four numbers, and long before the last it was evident that Thackeray might assume his place as one of the great writers of the day. Society took him up, and his life, already so busy

and varied, became fuller than ever. "Pendennis" began in the autumn of 1848, four months after the last number of "Vanity Fair," and continued the author's success. The field in "Pendennis" is more of youth and illusion than that in "Vanity Fair," but the method and class of the work is the same.

Thackeray was now in fairly easy circumstances, but was far too generous with his money not to need more of it than he had. He decided, therefore, in 1851 to improve his fortunes by coming forward as a lecturer, and to that end began to read for his "English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century." The lectures were in due time delivered in London at Willis's Rooms, to "innumerable noteworthy people," and met with great success. During that year, they were given at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and elsewhere. The next year "Henry Esmond" appeared. Thackeray had received £1000 for the book before it was printed; but, strangely enough, it met with ill success. It was variously described as "tedious and long," "too much history and too little story," and "the most uncomfortable book you can imagine." Such, however, has not been the verdict of time. "Henry Esmond" as a work of art is Thackeray's greatest book. The scheme of a memoir form precluded the lengthy moralizings that burden so much of his writing; the characters are painted swiftly and well; and the situations arising from their interrelations and contact are developed with fine dramatic brevity and color. His natural inclination toward the age, and the material gathered in working up the "Humorists," gave Thackeray perfect ease in the period and atmosphere, and set the eighteenth century breathing before us.

Thackeray, his health being very uncertain, now felt more and more the wisdom of putting by for his "little girls at home," and hit on the American tour as a means toward this end. He sailed October 30, 1852, with Arthur Hugh Clough and Lowell. There seems to have been some contention be-

tween Boston and New York as to which should welcome first the distinguished visitor. Fortune arranged the matter by having him land in Boston and make his début as a lecturer in New York. His impressions of America were very unlike those recorded by Dickens, who had repaid the enthusiasm and hospitality of the Americans by publishing criticisms both petty and insular. How different is the tone of Thackeray's letters! He didn't expect to like the people as he does, he writes back, and he finds many most pleasant companions, natural and well-read, and well-bred too, and supposes that he is none the worse pleased because everybody has read his books and praises his lectures. So also the rush and restlessness pleases him, and he likes, for a little, the dash of the stream. "It is all praise and kindness." His tour included Boston, New York, Washington, Richmond, Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and perhaps other places, and the profits of the trip, though not definitely known, were satisfactory, — in a letter he speaks of counting on £2500 at least.

Early in the next year Thackeray was in England again, in Paris, then in Baden, working on "The Newcomes." In it the manner and the treatment are the same as in "Vanity Fair," though, on the one hand, "The Newcomes" is more digressive and less interesting, and, on the other, the portrait of Colonel Newcome surpasses all the former portraits in depth and beauty. After "The Newcomes" Thackeray began his arrangements for another American venture and set about the composition of his lectures on the "Four Georges," which were to make their first appearance in America instead of in London. Then followed a repetition, but even more successful, of the earlier visit to America; everybody loving Thackeray, and Thackeray loving everybody, lecturing, dining, playing with his host's children wherever he might be, or writing to his own. "What charming letters Anne writes me!" — this from Savannah, Georgia. "St.

Valentine brought me a delightful letter from her too, and from the dear old mother, and whether it's the comfort of this house, or the pleasure of having an hour's chat with you, or the sweet clean bed I had last night, and undisturbed rest and good breakfast — altogether I think I have no right to grumble at my lot, and am very decently happy." Upon his return home the lectures on the Georges, although considerably criticized by English reviewers for making too free with the sanctity of kings, were repeated with triumphant success in London, Oxford, and other towns, and brilliantly in Edinburgh, where he had "three per cent of the whole population."

In the summer of 1857, Thackeray sought to add a new interest to his life: he entered politics. The city of Oxford was the chosen constituency, his party the Liberal. His speeches delivered in the canvass were regarded as worthy of him, tactful, marked by good sense and courtesy; in them he advocated an extension of the suffrage and a more democratic distribution of offices according to merit rather than rank. The speech he delivered when the returns showed that he was beaten, was, as might have been expected, full of taste and fine feeling, and is worthy of reading even yet.

Freed from politics, he began a new serial, the "Virginians"; in which, though not so successfully as in the first instance, he used again the material compiled for his lectures and reintroduced many of the figures in "Henry Esmond." Like Balzac he was fond of taking his people on from book to book; he even planned at this time to reverse the scheme by laying a plot in the time of Henry V and bringing upon the stage of action the ancestors of all his characters. The plan never materialized. It was while the "Virginians" was in progress that the much written of quarrel between Thackeray and Dickens arose.

This coolness, though it may have been rooted in a smouldering jealousy unperceived of either, had its immedi-

ate origin in an article that appeared in *Town Talk*. The author, Edmund Yates, made numerous statements about Thackeray, of a more or less personal character and in thoroughly bad taste. Thackeray, as was natural enough, resented them. Yates sought Dickens's advice, and Thackeray thought, and others with him, that Dickens took in the matter an unfriendly attitude toward Thackeray. The estrangement between the two great men did not end until a week before Thackeray's death, when they met on the steps of the Athenæum Club and shook hands.[1]

In 1859 the *Cornhill Magazine* was established, with Thackeray as editor. He contributed to the first issue an installment of "Lovel the Widower" — a story more interesting perhaps for its personal reminiscences of Thackeray than for its own sake — and what is more important, he wrote as editor the initial number of the "Roundabout Papers." The success of the magazine was overwhelming; more than 110,000 copies of the first issue were sold, and Thackeray went off to Paris as happy as a child. His long service in journalism, his humor, his wit, his knowledge of human nature, fitted him admirably for the editor's chair, though his rather unmethodical habits and his too kind heart made the business heavy at times. Whimsically and charmingly in "Thorns in the Cushion" he tells us the Editor's woes. "At night I come home and take my letters up to bed (not daring to open them), and in the morning I find one, two, three Thorns on my pillow." The people that resent the thrusts and the jests of the essayist, they are some of the thorns; and worst of all, the little governess with the sick mother and the brothers and sisters that look to her, the editor can so easily help them by taking the poem. And how he hopes that it may be possible, but it won't do; and sometimes — though he himself does not tell us this — the piece is accepted,

[1] For fuller discussion see the "Life" by Merivale and Marzials, pp. 195–198.

paid for from his own pocket, and never appears, but strays somehow later on into the waste basket. To be himself and a sharp editor at the same moment is hard for him.

"Lovel the Widower" was followed by "The Adventures of Philip on his Way Through the World," a book full of discursiveness and seeming fatigue, and no more admirable than its predecessor. But it is good to see the old power and charm return more or less in his last book, "Dennis Duval," — in what we have of it, for he never lived to finish the story. Meanwhile the "Roundabout Papers," — "On a Lazy Boy," "On Two Children in Black," "On Screens in Dining Rooms," on all manner of subjects, charming, delicate, finished, with the exact turn that only Thackeray could give them, continued to appear till his death. His health by this time had been going from bad to worse, the struggles and sorrows and labors of his life had aged him greatly. He felt it, and already thought of himself as an old man; it was noticed afterwards that the last papers in the *Cornhill* had been almost like sermons. On the morning of the 24th of December, Christmas Eve, 1863, he was found lying dead, his arms and face rigid, as if he had died in great pain.

Thackeray's work long before his death had already placed him among the great English writers. The novels, perhaps, head the list of his achievements: "The Yellowplush Correspondence," 1838; "Catherine," 1839; "A Shabby Genteel Story," 1840; "The History of Samuel Titmarsh" and "The Great Hoggarty Diamond," 1841; "The Luck of Barry Lyndon," 1844; "Vanity Fair," 1847–1848; "The History of Pendennis," 1848–1850; "The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., A Colonel in service of Her Majesty Queen Anne. Written by Himself," 1852; "The Newcomes," 1853–1855; "The Virginians. A Tale of the Last Century," 1857–1859; "Lovel the Widower," 1860; "The Adventures of Philip," 1861–1862; "Dennis Duval," never finished, but published

after Thackeray's death, 1864. There are several books of travel and description: "The Paris Sketchbook," 1840; "The Irish Sketchbook," 1843; "Little Travels and Roadside Sketches," 1844–1845; "Punch in the East," 1845; "From London to Grand Cairo," 1846. The "Ballads" appeared first in book form in 1855. Besides the novels, the travels, and the poems, there were the great number of miscellaneous writings that appeared in *Punch*, in *Fraser's*, the *Cornhill*, and elsewhere: the review of Carlyle's "French Revolution," 1837; "Fitz-Boodle's Confessions," 1842–1843; "Miss Tickletoby's Lectures on English History," 1842; "The Snobs of England," 1846–1847; "Punch's Prize Novelists," 1847; "The Proser," 1850; "Mr. Brown's Letters to a Young Man About Town," 1849; "English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century," 1851–1853; "The Four Georges," delivered in 1855, published in the *Cornhill*, 1860, in book form, 1861; and the "Roundabout Papers" in the *Cornhill*, 1860–1863. He was also the author of several Christmas books of different kinds: "Mrs. Perkins's Ball," 1846; "Our Street," 1847; "Doctor Birch and his Young Friends," 1848; "Rebecca and Rowena," 1849; "The Kickleburys on the Rhine," 1850; "The Rose and the Ring," 1854.

Thackeray's first excellence, it seems to me, lies in his deep humanity, the sane and ripened heart and the vision that made him feel and understand, the humor and buoyancy and the keen wit that hover about his thought. His faults, at the worst, consist in a lack of art, oftentimes in detailed construction, as in "The Newcomes," "Pendennis," or even in that most nearly perfect of his books, "Henry Esmond"; an overwillingness to moralize and sentimentalize, as in "The Newcomes," especially among the novels, and in many of the miscellanies; and a failure to make the adequate revision. His virtues lie in his capacity for sympathy, as in the beautiful portrait of Colonel Newcome, or of the death of my Lord

in "Henry Esmond," or the portrait of Goldsmith; his shrewd insight into motives and temperaments, such as we find, for instance, in his treatment of Beatrix and the Stuart, or of the subtle quality of the Viscountess's love; his power to take the reader into his confidence, his balance and absence of pose or affectation, his culture, his swift and moving characters and situations.

In appearance Thackeray was tall, six feet four, and broad-chested. The thick hair, turning early to gray, the ample brow, the broken nose, and the clear eyes, tended to give to his head, which he carried high, an air of dignity, perhaps even of supercilious coldness; but the mouth was sensitive and mild, and his whole manner and expression, when he spoke, kindly charming, full of the delicate variations of his many-sided character and moods.

As a man he was all heart and life; loving and needing love; careless with his money and his kindness, generous and loyal; sensitive and reserved; and filled, as Trollope said, "with an almost equally exaggerated sympathy with the joys and troubles of individuals around him"; a Bohemian all his days, with an eternal child in his breast, a man who loved to lounge and talk and dream, to live intensely and fully, indifferent to the prudence of gain and loss. There was talk once of his being a snob and a cynic, but it is all forgotten. "He is become a great man, I am told," writes his friend Edward Fitzgerald, "goes to Holland House, and to Devonshire House; and for some reason or other will not write one word to me. But I am sure this is not because he is asked to Holland House;" and we, too, know now that, whatever the reason might have been, it could not have been because he was asked to Holland House; he was no snob. And he was no cynic; we know now the depth of the loving faith that kept itself sweet in the face of the foibles and weakness and folly that he read so well. Indeed, strange as it may seem at

first thought, the keynote to his character was probably to be found in sentiment rather than in cynicism.

Thackeray in politics was a Liberal. His religion is characteristic of the man; under a due reserve, poetic faith in the broader Christian ideas, and the prayer that he might never write a word inconsistent with the love of God or the love of man, that he might always speak the truth with his pen, and "that he might never be actuated by a love of greed — For the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord."

THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS

There are two views of history that may be taken in connection with the "English Humorists." The first demands that history to be good must be based on the actual fact, that it must be literal to be true, and that thereupon rests the standard of excellence. The other opinion, in view of the fact that all the points about a subject may never be obtained, that witnesses vary, that the so-called fact itself is often but half the reality, that, briefly, truth is in a well, — the other opinion holds that the office of history is to be morally creative; which means that we should be made to feel, to take sides, to be moved, to act, and through this exercise to get character development; and insists that to this end the literal data may be sacrificed, if necessary, in the interest of vividness and power. Both these theories apply to the "Humorists." But while Thackeray in his treatment observes no small amount of accuracy, his work in the main implies, as many literary histories do, the second point of view rather than the first.

The fundamental appeal of the book is its humanity. Thackeray's life and temperament, his broad experience and broader sympathies, fit him for the task of reviewing such widely diverse lives and temperaments as the twelve humorists

exhibit. We are made to live with the characters, to worship, despise, and pursue them as Thackeray, in his vital conception of them, chooses to direct us. And this, though individually it may be harsh, as in the case of Swift, or lenient, as in the case of Pope, is yet valuable to the race at large by reason of the vividness and power that the impulse of Thackeray's conception puts into it.

It may be said that as criticism the whole strain of the essays is, like much of English criticism, more personal than critical, based more on the man than on the work. Continental criticism tends to separate the two, but the English tendency has been, up to the last few years, to insist on the man and his art as one. The essays on the humorists are intended, however, more as studies, as life portraits, than as literary criticism. Their lives are taken up not fact by fact, year by year, but from this side and from that, shifted, turned, quoted, questioned, drawn from the centuries and presented as Thackeray wills them to be. The result in this case justifies the method. There is a hovering over the subject, in a manner characteristic of all Thackeray's work, a happy all-roundness of impression that is in its way as definite as any mere accuracy could be.

Apart from the method of treatment, it would appear that all the men chosen might not be regarded ordinarily as humorists. The answer to that is to be found in the opening paragraph: "The humorous writer professes to awaken and direct your love, your pity, your kindness, — your scorn for untruth, pretension, imposture — your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy. He takes upon himself to be the week-day preacher, so to speak." From that standpoint all the twelve may be admitted to the company.

The reviews of the day were generally favorable to the essays, though there is of course the usual difference of opinion among the critics.

"Those who came once to hear and see the author of 'Vanity Fair,'" says the *Spectator*,[1] "and to watch at a safe distance the terrible satirist, whose dressing-gown, like that of the old Frankish king, was trimmed with the scalps of slaughtered snobs, were attracted to continue their attendance to the close of the course by the engaging manner of the lecturer, just sufficiently elevated above the frank familiarity of the best society, by his expressive but always pleasant voice, by his unconcealed desire to make a favorable impression upon his audience, no less than by the sense, the sound feeling, the delicate irony, the profound human experience, or the fascinating style of the lectures. . . . Persons whose tastes and studies have led them to our older literature and history, no less than those whose training is emphatically modern, will consider that Mr. Thackeray has placed far too high the general moral and intellectual level of the eighteenth century. Particular judgments will be disputed, and the highest poetical excellence will certainly not be awarded without an appeal from Mr. Thackeray's decision."

The *Examiner*[2] for the same month accuses him of being too fond of looking up to great imaginary heights or of looking down from the same; and of coaxing, patronizing, and abusing his heroes, or putting them on top shelves high and out-of-the-way. "We could not for the life of us have recognized our old friend Addison in the grand, calm, pale, isolated altitude which he is here shown off in." The *Athenæum*[3] regards the essays as pleasant but of no deep value, though it hints at valuable treasures here and there among the shallows. The critic also regards the estimate of Addison as rather over-elaborate in its praise, and fancies the judgment of Congreve rather hard. "Gay[4] is treated with that 'curious felicity' which implies no ordinary intimacy with, and employment

[1] *Spectator*, July, 1853.
[2] *The Examiner*, July, 1853.
[3] *The Athenæum*, June 18, 1853.
[4] *The Athenæum*, June 25, 1853.

of, his subject on the part of the author. . . . Perhaps the figure in this gallery on which our lecturer has bestowed his utmost pains is that of Pope. Here Mr. Thackeray rises into a greater refinement of distinction, into a graver sympathy with his subject, than is his wont. . . . We can point to Mr. Thackeray's appreciation of Sterne with entire approval."

Blackwoods [1] is less kind. "We do not see in it a fair, honest, truth-searching and truth-declaring spirit; yet the style is so captivating, so *insinuating* in its deceiving plainness, so suggestive of every evil in its simplicity, so alluring onward, even when the passages we have read have left unpleasant impressions, that it is impossible to lay down the book."

The Westminster Review: [2] "Whatever difference of opinion may arise between the writer and the reader out of Mr. Thackeray's views concerning Addison, or Steele, or Sterne, or Swift, there is no man of taste who will not recognize in these sketches a master's touch, the work of a true humorist, and of a man accomplished in his art."

The American journals repeat the praise, both of the lectures and of their delivery. "The lecture was upon Swift," wrote the critic in the *New York Times* for Saturday, November 20, 1852, "and it was the most exquisite piece of biographical criticism and characterization we ever heard or read. . . . Its sentiments were the perfection of common sense; its language the extreme of simplicity; its arrangement the unstudied method of a thoroughly cultivated mind. There was not an attempt at wit or humor in it; and yet it overflowed with both. It was made up mainly of the simplest, most direct statements of fact; yet they were all full of humor, beauty, eloquence."

[1] *Blackwoods*, October, 1853. [2] *The Westminster Review*, July, 1853.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE TWELVE HUMORISTS

It will be observed that with the two exceptions of Prior and Sterne, Thackeray takes up the Humorists in approximately chronological order.

1664 Prior born.
1667 Swift born.
1670 Congreve born.
1672 Addison born.
Steele born.
1685 Gay born.
1688 Pope born.
1692 Swift secretary to Sir William Temple.
Congreve contributes to Dryden's *Juvenal.*
1693 Congreve's *Old Bachelor* and *The Double Dealer.*
1694 Swift ordained.
1695 Congreve's *Love for Love.*
1696 Steele is made secretary to Baron Cutts.
1697 Hogarth born.
Congreve's *Mourning Bride.*
Addison is granted a pension for travel on the continent.
Prior made secretary for the negotiations for the treaty of Ryswick.
Swift's *Battle of the Books* written; published 1704.
1700 Congreve's *The Way of the World.*
Steele's *Christian Hero* published; *The Funeral* acted at Drury Lane.
Swift made Doctor of Divinity at Dublin.
1704 Swift's *Tale of a Tub.*
Addison's *Campaign,* in honor of the battle of Blenheim.
1705 Swift goes up to London for three years.
1706 Steele made gentleman waiter to Prince George of Denmark.
Addison made undersecretary of state.
1707 Fielding born.
Swift intrusted with the commission to obtain the grant of Queen Anne's bounty for Ireland.
1708 Addison M.P. from Lostwithiel.
1709 Addison secretary to Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland.
Pope's *Pastorals,* in Tonson's *Miscellanies.*

Addison M.P. from Malmesbury, continued until death.
The *Tatler* begun by Steele, Addison contributes.

1710 Congreve publishes his *Collected Works*.
Swift becomes a Tory.
Addison defends the Whigs in the *Whig Examiner*.
Steele made Commissioner of Stamps.

1711 Prior in Paris negotiates the Peace of Utrecht.
Gay's *Present State of Wit*.
Addison and Steele's *Spectator*.
Pope's *Essay on Criticism*.
Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*.

1712 Prior made Plenipotentiary at Paris.
Pope enters Addison's circle.
Pope's *Messiah* appears in the *Spectator*.
Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (first version).

1713 Sterne born.
Steele begins the *Guardian*.
Pope publishes *Windsor Forest*, and becomes associated with the Tories.
Pope leaves Addison's circle and forms an intimacy with Swift, Gay, and others.
Gay contributes to the *Guardian*.
Steele elected M.P. from Stockbridge.
Steele starts a Whig paper, *The Englishman*.
Addison's *Cato* is presented at Drury Lane.
Swift is made Dean of St. Patrick's; the *Journal to Stella* is already begun.

1714 Congreve given the secretaryship of Jamaica.
Addison contributes to the revived *Spectator*.
Steele writes the *Crisis* in favor of the Hanoverian succession; is expelled from the House of Commons for seditious libel; publishes the *Poetical Miscellanies;* on the accession of George I is promoted to the managership of Drury Lane, made Deputy Lieutenant from Middlesex, and given other offices.
Gay's *Shepherd's Week* is published, dedicated to Bolingbroke.
Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, in its fuller form.
Swift's *Public Spirit of the Whigs* in reply to Steele's *Crisis*.

1715 Swift, upon the death of Queen Anne and the fall of the ministry, leaves for Ireland.
Addison's *Drummer* unsuccessfully produced.
Steele M.P. from Boroughbridge, and knighted.

First volume of Pope's *Iliad* (completed, 1720).
Prior imprisoned; released 1717.

1716 Addison produces the *Freeholder*, and is married to the Countess of Warwick.

1718 Addison retires from office.
Folio edition of Prior's poems published.

1719 Death of Addison.
Defoe publishes *Robinson Crusoe*.

1720 Gay's *Poems*.

1721 Death of Prior.
Smollett born.

1722 Steele's *Conscious Lovers* produced at Drury Lane.

1724 Gay produces the *Captives*.

1725 Pope's translation of the *Odyssey*, and edition of Shakespeare.

1726 Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.
Hogarth's illustrations for *Hudibras*.

1727 Swift makes his last visit to England.
Gay's *Fables*, first series.

1728 Gay's *Beggar's Opera* acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
Pope publishes the *Dunciad*.
Goldsmith born.
Hogarth paints scenes from the *Beggar's Opera*.

1729 Pope issues an enlarged edition of the *Dunciad*.
Gay's *Polly*, sequel to the *Beggar's Opera*, published.
Death of Congreve.
Death of Steele.

1730 Fielding's burlesque, *Tom Thumb*.

1732 Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*.
Gay writes the libretto for Handel's *Acis and Galatea*.
Death of Gay.

1733 Gay's *Achilles* produced at Covent Garden.
Pope's *Essay on Man* and *Moral Essays*.
Pope's *Horace*, First Satire of Second Book.

1735 Hogarth's *Rake's Progress* and *Southwark Fair*.
Pope's *Works*.

1736 Fielding opens a theater in the Haymarket.

1738 Gay's *Fables*, second series.

1739 Smollett goes up with a play to London to make his fortune.

1740 Fielding a barrister in the Middle Temple.
Sterne made curate of Buckden.

1742 Fielding writes *Joseph Andrews* as a parody of Richardson's *Pamela*.
Pope completes the *Dunciad* by a fourth book.
1743 Fielding's *Miscellanies*, containing his satire, *Jonathan Wild the Great*.
1744 Death of Pope.
1745 Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode*.
Death of Swift.
1748 Smollett's *Roderick Random*.
1749 Fielding's *Tom Jones*.
1750 Fielding's *Inquiry into the Increase of Robbers in London*.
1751 Fielding's *Amelia*.
Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* and *History of England*.
1752 Goldsmith goes to Edinburgh to study medicine.
1753 Smollett's *Ferdinand Count Fathom*.
1754 Death of Fielding in Lisbon.
1755 Goldsmith travels in Europe; later is destitute in London.
1756 Smollett founds *The Critical Review*.
1757 Goldsmith writes for the *Monthly Review*.
1759 Goldsmith's *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning*.
1760 Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Vols. I and II.
Sterne goes to London, second edition of *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne given the perpetual curacy of Coxwold.
1761 Goldsmith and Johnson meet.
Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Vols. III, IV, V, and VI.
1762 Smollett's *Sir Launcelot Greaves*.
Sterne goes to the continent.
Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*.
1763 Smollett goes to the continent.
1764 Goldsmith's *Traveller*.
Death of Hogarth.
1765 Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Vols. VII and VIII.
1766 Smollett publishes his *Travels*.
Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* sold to the publisher.
1767 Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. IX.
1768 Goldsmith's *Good-Natured Man*.
Death of Sterne.
Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* issued.
1769 Goldsmith's *History of Rome*.
1770 Goldsmith's *Life of Parnell*, *Life of Bolingbroke*, and *The Deserted Village*.
1771 Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*.

Goldsmith's *History of England.*
Death of Smollett.
1773 Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer.*
1774 Goldsmith's *Retaliation*, and *Animated Nature*, and *History of Greece.*
Death of Goldsmith.

THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY*

SWIFT

In treating of the English Humorists of the past age, it is of the men and of their lives, rather than of their books, that I ask permission to speak to you; and in doing so, you are aware that I cannot hope to entertain you with a merely humorous or facetious story. Harlequin without his mask is known to present a very sober countenance, and was himself, the story goes, the melancholy patient whom the doctor advised to go and see Harlequin† — a man full of cares and perplexities like the rest of us, whose Self must always be serious to him, under whatever mask or disguise or uniform he presents it to the public. And as all of you here must needs be grave when you think of your own past and present, you will not look to find, in the histories of those whose lives and feelings I am going to try and describe to you, a story that is otherwise than serious, and often very sad. If Humor only meant laughter, you would scarcely feel more interest about humorous writers than about the private life of poor Harlequin just

* The notes to these lectures were chiefly written by James Hannay. A few corrections and additions, chiefly due to later investigations, are now inserted; for which the publishers have to thank Mr. Austin Dobson, Mr. Sidney Lee, and Mr. L. Stephen.

† The anecdote is frequently told of our performer John Rich (1682?–1761), who first introduced pantomimes, and himself acted Harlequin.

mentioned, who possesses in common with these the power of making you laugh. But the men regarding whose lives and stories your kind presence here shows that you have curiosity and sympathy, appeal to a great number of our other faculties, besides our mere sense of ridicule. The humorous writer professes to awaken and direct your love, your pity, your kindness — your scorn for untruth, pretension, imposture — your tenderness for the weak, the poor, the oppressed, the unhappy. To the best of his means and ability he comments on all the ordinary actions and passions of life almost. He takes upon himself to be the week-day preacher, so to speak. Accordingly, as he finds, and speaks, and feels the truth best, we regard him, esteem him — sometimes love him. And, as his business is to mark other people's lives and peculiarities, we moralize upon *his* life when he has gone — and yesterday's preacher becomes the text for to-day's sermon.

Of English parents, and of a good English family of clergymen,* Swift was born in Dublin in 1667, seven months after the death of his father, who had come to practice there as a lawyer. The boy went to school at Kilkenny, and after-

* He was from a younger branch of the Swifts of Yorkshire. His grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, suffered for his loyalty in Charles I's time. That gentleman married Elizabeth Dryden, a member of the family of the poet. Sir Walter Scott gives, with his characteristic minuteness in such points, the exact relationship between these famous men. Swift was "the son of Dryden's second cousin." Swift, too, was the enemy of Dryden's reputation. Witness the "Battle of the Books": — "The difference was greatest among the horse," says he of the moderns, "where every private trooper pretended to the command, from Tasso and Milton to Dryden and Withers." And in *Poetry, a Rhapsody*, he advises the poetaster to —

> "Read all the Prefaces of Dryden,
> For these our critics much confide in,
> Though merely writ, at first for filling,
> To raise the volume's price a shilling."

"Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet," was the phrase of Dryden to his kinsman, which remained alive in a memory tenacious of such matters.

wards to Trinity College, Dublin, where he got a degree with difficulty, and was wild, and witty, and poor. In 1688, by the recommendation of his mother, Swift was received into the family of Sir William Temple, who had known Mrs. Swift in Ireland. He left his patron in 1694, and the next year took orders in Dublin. But he threw up the small Irish preferment which he got and returned to Temple, in whose family he remained until Sir William's death in 1699. His hopes of advancement in England failing, Swift returned to Ireland, and took the living of Laracor. Hither he invited Esther Johnson,* Temple's natural daughter, with whom he had contracted a tender friendship while they were both dependants of Temple's. And with an occasional visit to England, Swift now passed nine years at home.

In 1710 he came to England, and, with a brief visit to Ireland, during which he took possession of his deanery of Saint Patrick, he now passed four years in England, taking the most distinguished part in the political transactions which terminated with the death of Queen Anne. After her death, his party disgraced, and his hopes of ambition over, Swift returned to Dublin, where he remained twelve years. In this time he wrote the famous "Drapier's Letters" and "Gulliver's Travels." He married† Esther Johnson (Stella), and buried Esther Vanhomrigh (Vanessa), who had followed him to Ireland from London, where she had contracted a violent

* "Miss Hetty" she was called in the family — where her face, and her dress, and Sir William's treatment of her, all made the real fact about her birth plain enough. Sir William left her a thousand pounds. [The statement that Esther Johnson was Temple's natural daughter, was first made by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1757, who also asserted that Swift was Temple's natural son; and that a discovery of their relationship was the secret of Swift's melancholy. The statement about Swift is inconsistent with known dates. The story about Esther may be true, but it depends mainly upon late and anonymous evidence.]

† The marriage is accepted by Swift's last biographer, Sir H. Craik. It was disbelieved by Forster, and cannot be regarded as certain.

passion for him. In 1726 and 1727 Swift was in England, which he quitted for the last time on hearing of his wife's illness. Stella died in January 1728, and Swift not until 1745, having passed the last five of the seventy-eight years of his life with an impaired intellect, and keepers to watch him.*

You know, of course, that Swift has had many biographers; his life has been told by the kindest and most good-natured of men, Scott, who admires but can't bring himself to love him; and by stout old Johnson,† who, forced to admit him into the company of poets, receives the famous Irishman, and takes off his hat to him with a bow of surly recognition, scans him from head to foot, and passes over to the other side of the

* Sometimes, during his mental affliction, he continued walking about the house for many consecutive hours; sometimes he remained in a kind of torpor. At times he would seem to struggle to bring into distinct consciousness, and shape into expression the intellect that lay smothering under gloomy obstruction in him. A pier-glass, falling by accident, nearly fell on him. He said he wished it had! He once repeated slowly several times, "I am what I am." The last thing he wrote was an epigram on the building of a magazine for arms and stores, which was pointed out to him as he went abroad during his mental disease: —

"Behold a proof of Irish sense:
Here Irish wit is seen:
When nothing's left that's worth defense,
They build a magazine!"

† Besides these famous books of Scott's and Johnson's, there is a copious "Life" by Thomas Sheridan (Doctor Johnson's "Sherry"), father of Richard Brinsley, and son of that good-natured, clever Irish Doctor Thomas Sheridan, Swift's intimate, who lost his chaplaincy by so unluckily choosing for a text on the King's birthday, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof!" Not to mention less important works, there is also the *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Doctor Jonathan Swift*, by that polite and dignified writer, the Earl of Orrery. His Lordship is said to have striven for literary renown, chiefly that he might make up for the slight passed on him by his father, who left his library away from him. It is to be feared that the ink he used to wash out that stain only made it look bigger. He had, however, known Swift, and corresponded with people who knew him. His work (which appeared in 1751) provoked a good deal of controversy, calling out, among other *brochures*, the interesting *Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks*, &c., of Doctor Delany.

street. Doctor (afterwards Sir W. R.) Wilde of Dublin,* who has written a most interesting volume on the closing years of Swift's life, calls Johnson "the most malignant of his biographers:" it is not easy for an English critic to please Irishmen — perhaps to try and please them. And yet Johnson truly admires Swift: Johnson does not quarrel with Swift's change of politics, or doubt his sincerity of religion: about the famous Stella and Vanessa controversy the Doctor does not bear very hardly on Swift. But he could not give the Dean that honest hand of his; the stout old man puts it into his breast, and moves off from him.†

Would we have liked to live with him? That is a question which, in dealing with these people's works, and thinking of their lives and peculiarities, every reader of biographies must put to himself. Would you have liked to be a friend of the great Dean? I should like to have been Shakspeare's shoeblack — just to have lived in his house, just to have worshiped him — to have run on his errands, and seen that sweet serene face. I should like, as a young man, to have lived on Fielding's staircase in the Temple, and after helping him up to bed perhaps, and opening his door with his latchkey, to have

* Wilde's book was written on the occasion of the remains of Swift and Stella being brought to the light of day — a thing which happened in 1835, when certain works going on in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, afforded an opportunity of their being examined. One hears with surprise of these skulls "going the rounds" of houses, and being made the objects of *dilettante* curiosity. The larynx of Swift was actually carried off! Phrenologists had a low opinion of his intellect from the observations they took.

Wilde traces the symptoms of ill-health in Swift, as detailed in his writings from time to time. He observes, likewise, that the skull gave evidence of "diseased action" of the brain during life — such as would be produced by an increasing tendency to "cerebral congestion." [In 1882 Dr. Bucknell wrote an interesting article to show that Swift's disease was "labyrinthine vertigo," an affection of the ear, which would account for some of the symptoms.]

† "He [Doctor Johnson] seemed to me to have an unaccountable prejudice against Swift; for I once took the liberty to ask him if Swift had personally offended him, and he told me he had not." — BOSWELL'S *Tour to the Hebrides*.

shaken hands with him in the morning, and heard him talk and crack jokes over his breakfast and his mug of small beer. Who would not give something to pass a night at the club with Johnson, and Goldsmith, and James Boswell, Esquire, of Auchinleck? The charm of Addison's companionship and conversation has passed to us by fond tradition — but Swift? If you had been his inferior in parts (and that, with a great respect for all persons present, I fear is only very likely), his equal in mere social station, he would have bullied, scorned, and insulted you; if, undeterred by his great reputation, you had met him like a man, he would have quailed before you,* and not had the pluck to reply, and gone home, and years after written a foul epigram about you — watched for you in a sewer, and come out to assail you with a coward's blow and a dirty bludgeon. If you had been a lord with a blue ribbon, who flattered his vanity, or could help his ambition, he would have been the most delightful company in the world. He would have been so manly, so sarcastic, so bright, odd, and

* Few men, to be sure, dared this experiment, but yet their success was encouraging. One gentleman made a point of asking the Dean whether his uncle Godwin had not given him his education. Swift, who hated *that* subject cordially, and, indeed, cared little for his kindred, said sternly, "Yes; he gave me the education of a dog." "Then, sir," cried the other, striking his fist on the table, "you have not the gratitude of a dog!"

Other occasions there were when a bold face gave the Dean pause, even after his Irish almost-royal position was established. But he brought himself into greater danger on a certain occasion, and the amusing circumstances may be once more repeated here. He had unsparingly lashed the notable Dublin lawyer, Mr. Serjeant Bettesworth —

> "Thus at the bar, the booby Bettesworth,
> Though half-a-crown o'erpays his sweat's worth,
> Who knows in law nor text nor margent,
> Calls Singleton his brother-serjeant!"

The Serjeant, it is said, swore to have his life. He presented himself at the deanery. The Dean asked his name. "Sir, I am Serjeant Bett-es-worth."

"*In what regiment, pray?*" asked Swift.

A guard of volunteers formed themselves to defend the Dean at this time.

original, that you might think he had no object in view but the indulgence of his humor, and that he was the most reckless simple creature in the world. How he would have torn your enemies to pieces for you! and made fun of the Opposition! His servility was so boisterous that it looked like independence;* he would have done your errands, but with the air of patronizing you; and after fighting your battles, masked, in the street or the press, would have kept on his hat before your wife and daughters in the drawing-room, content to take that sort of pay for his tremendous services as a bravo.†

He says as much himself in one of his letters to Bolingbroke: — "All my endeavors to distinguish myself were only for want of a great title and fortune, that I might be used like a lord by those who have an opinion of my parts; whether right or wrong is no great matter. And so the reputation of wit

* "But, my Hamilton, I will never hide the freedom of my sentiments from you. I am much inclined to believe that the temper of my friend Swift might occasion his English friends to wish him happily and properly promoted at a distance. His spirit, for I would give it the softest name, was ever untractable. The motions of his genius were often irregular. He assumed more the air of a patron than of a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise." — *Orrery*.

† ". . . An anecdote, which, though only told by Mrs. Pilkington, is well attested, bears, that the last time he was in London he went to dine with the Earl of Burlington, who was but newly married. The Earl, it is supposed, being willing to have a little diversion, did not introduce him to his lady, nor mention his name. After dinner said the Dean, 'Lady Burlington, I hear you can sing; sing me a song.' The lady looked on this unceremonious manner of asking a favor with distaste, and positively refused. He said, 'She should sing, or he would make her. Why, madam, I suppose you take me for one of your poor English hedge-parsons; sing when I bid you.' As the Earl did nothing but laugh at this freedom, the lady was so vexed that she burst into tears and retired. His first compliment to her when he saw her again was, 'Pray, madam, are you as proud and ill-natured now as when I saw you last?' To which she answered with great good humor, 'No, Mr. Dean; I'll sing for you if you please.' From which time he conceived a great esteem for her." — SCOTT'S *Life*. ". . . He had not the least tincture of vanity in his conversation. He was, perhaps, as he said himself, too proud to be vain. When he was polite, it was in a manner entirely his own. In his friendships he was constant and undisguised. He was the same in his enmities." — *Orrery*.

and great learning does the office of a blue ribbon or a coach-and-six." *

Could there be a greater candor? It is an outlaw, who says, "These are my brains; with these I'll win titles and compete with fortune. These are my bullets; these I'll turn into gold;" and he hears the sound of coaches and six, takes the road like Macheath, and makes society stand and deliver. They are all on their knees before him. Down go my Lord Bishop's apron, and his Grace's blue ribbon, and my Lady's brocade petticoat in the mud. He eases the one of a living, the other of a patent place, the third of a little snug post about the Court, and gives them over to followers of his own. The great prize has not come yet. The coach with the miter and crozier in it, which he intends to have for *his* share, has been delayed on the way from Saint James's; and he waits and waits until nightfall, when his runners come and tell him that the coach has taken a different road, and escaped him. So he fires his pistols into the air with a curse, and rides away into his own country.†

* "I make no figure but at Court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintances." — *Journal to Stella.*

"I am plagued with bad authors, verse and prose, who send me their books and poems, the vilest I ever saw; but I have given their names to my man, never to let them see me." — *Journal to Stella.*

The following curious paragraph illustrates the life of a courtier: —

"Did I ever tell you that the Lord Treasurer hears ill with the left ear, just as I do? . . . I dare not tell him that I am so, *for fear he should think that I counterfeited to make my court!*" — *Journal to Stella.*

† The war of pamphlets was carried on fiercely on one side and the other: and the Whig attacks made the Ministry Swift served very sore. Bolingbroke laid hold of several of the Opposition pamphleteers, and bewails their "factitiousness" in the following letter: —

Bolingbroke to the Earl of Strafford

"WHITEHALL: *July 23rd*, 1712

"It is a melancholy consideration that the laws of our country are too weak to punish effectually those factitious scribblers, who presume to blacken the brightest characters, and to give even scurrilous language to those who are

Swift's seems to me to be as good a name to point a moral or adorn a tale of ambition as any hero's that ever lived and failed. But we must remember that the morality was lax — that other gentlemen besides himself took the road in his

in the first degrees of honor. This, my Lord, among others, is a symptom of the decayed condition of our Government, and serves to show how fatally we mistake licentiousness for liberty. All I could do was to take up Hart, the printer, to send him to Newgate, and to bind him over upon bail to be prosecuted; this I have done; and if I can arrive at legal proof against the author, Ridpath, he shall have the same treatment."

Swift was not behind his illustrious friend in this virtuous indignation. In the history of the last four years of the Queen, the Dean speaks in the most edifying manner of the licentiousness of the press and the abusive language of the other party: —

"It must be acknowledged that the bad practices of printers have been such as to deserve the severest animadversion from the public. . . . The adverse party, full of rage and leisure since their fall, and unanimous in their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topics of defamation, and have a style and genius leveled to the generality of their readers. . . . However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured by such a remedy as a tax upon small papers, and a Bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the House of Commons, but so late in the session that there was no time to pass it, for there always appeared an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press."

But to a clause in the proposed Bill, that the names of authors should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper, his Reverence objects altogether; for, says he, "besides the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, *out of an humble Christian spirit, to conceal their names*, it is certain that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves upon first sending their thoughts into the world."

This "invincible modesty" was no doubt the sole reason which induced the Dean to keep the secret of the "Drapier's Letters" and a hundred humble Christian works of which he was the author. As for the Opposition, the Doctor was for dealing severely with them. He writes to Stella: —

Journal. Letter XIX

"London: *March 25th*, 1710–11

". . . We have let Guiscard be buried at last, after showing him pickled in a trough this fortnight for twopence apiece; and the fellow that showed would point to his body and say, 'See, gentlemen, this is the wound that was given him by his Grace the Duke of Ormond;' and 'This is the wound,' &c.; and

day — that public society was in a strange disordered condition, and the State was ravaged by other condottieri. The Boyne was being fought and won, and lost — the bells rung in William's victory, in the very same tone with which they would have pealed for James's. Men were loose upon politics, and had to shift for themselves. They, as well as old beliefs and institutions, had lost their moorings and gone adrift in the storm. As in the South Sea Bubble, almost everybody gambled; as in the Railway mania — not many centuries ago — almost every one took his unlucky share: a man of that time, of the vast talents and ambition of Swift, could scarce do otherwise than grasp at his prize, and make his spring at his opportunity. His bitterness, his scorn, his rage, his subsequent misanthropy are ascribed by some panegyrists to a deliberate conviction of mankind's unworthiness, and a desire to amend them by castigation. His youth was bitter, as that of a great genius bound down by ignoble ties, and powerless in a mean dependence; his age was bitter,* like that of a great genius, that had fought the battle and nearly won it, and lost it, and thought of it afterwards, writhing in a lonely exile. A man may attribute to the gods, if he likes, what is caused by his own fury, or disappointment, or self-will. What public man — what statesman projecting a

then the show was over, and another set of rabble came in. 'Tis hard that our laws would not suffer us to hang his body in chains, because he was not tried; and in the eye of the law every man is innocent till then. . . ."

Journal. Letter XXVII

"LONDON: *July 25th*, 1711

"I was this afternoon with Mr. Secretary at his office, and helped to hinder a man of his pardon, who was condemned for a rake. The Under-Secretary was willing to save him; but I told the Secretary he could not pardon him without a favorable report from the Judge; besides, he was a fiddler, and consequently a rogue, and deserved hanging for something else, and so he shall swing."

* It was his constant practice to keep his birthday as a day of mourning.

coup — what king determined on an invasion of his neighbor — what satirist meditating an onslaught on society or an individual, can't give a pretext for his move? There was a French General the other day who proposed to march into this country and put it to sack and pillage, in revenge for humanity outraged by our conduct at Copenhagen: there is always some excuse for men of the aggressive turn. They are of their nature warlike, predatory, eager for fight, plunder, dominion.*

As fierce a beak and talon as ever struck — as strong a wing as ever beat, belonged to Swift. I am glad, for one, that Fate wrested the prey out of his claws, and cut his wings and chained him. One can gaze, and not without awe and pity, at the lonely eagle chained behind the bars.

That Swift was born at No. 7 Hoey's Court, Dublin, on the 30th November 1667, is a certain fact, of which nobody will deny the sister island the honor and glory; but, it seems to me, he was no more an Irishman than a man born of English parents at Calcutta is a Hindoo.† Goldsmith was an Irish-

* "These devils of Grub Street rogues, that write the *Flying Post* and *Medley* in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always mauling Lord Treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and me. We have the dog under prosecution, but Bolingbroke is not active enough; but I hope to swinge him. He is a Scotch rogue, one Ridpath. They get out upon bail, and write on. We take them again, and get fresh bail; so it goes round." — *Journal to Stella.*

† Swift was by no means inclined to forget such considerations; and his English birth makes its mark, strikingly enough, every now and then in his writings. Thus in a letter to Pope (Scott's *Swift*, vol. xix. p. 97), he says: —

"We have had your volume of letters. . . . Some of those who highly value you, and a few who knew you personally, are grieved to find you make no distinction between the English gentry of this kingdom, and the savage old Irish who are only the vulgar, and some gentlemen who live in the Irish parts of the kingdom); but the English colonies, who are three parts in four, are much more civilized than many counties in England, and speak better English, and are much better bred."

And again, in the fourth Drapier's Letter, we have the following: —

"A short paper, printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr. Wood to say 'that he wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing

man, and always an Irishman: Steele was an Irishman, and always an Irishman: Swift's heart was English and in England, his habits English, his logic eminently English; his statement is elaborately simple; he shuns tropes and metaphors, and uses his ideas and words with a wise thrift and economy, as he used his money: with which he could be generous and splendid upon great occasions, but which he husbanded when there was no need to spend it. He never indulges in needless extravagance of rhetoric, lavish epithets, profuse imagery. He lays his opinion before you with a grave simplicity and a perfect neatness.* Dreading ridicule too, as a man of his humor — above all, an Englishman of his humor —

his coin.' When, by the way, it is the true English people of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked." — SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. vi. p. 453.

He goes further, in a good-humored satirical paper, *On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland*, where (after abusing, as he was wont, the Scotch cadence, as well as expression) he advances to the "*Irish Brogue*," and speaking of the "censure" which it brings down, says: —

"And what is yet worse, it is too well known that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches farther than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom." — *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 149.

But, indeed, if we are to make *anything* of Race at all, we must call that man an Englishman whose father comes from an old Yorkshire family, and his mother from an old Leicestershire one!

* "The style of his conversation was very much of a piece with that of his writings, concise and clear and strong. Being one day at a Sheriff's feast, who amongst other toasts called out to him, 'Mr. Dean, The Trade of Ireland!' he answered quick: 'Sir, I drink no memories!' . . .

"Happening to be in company with a petulant young man who prided himself on saying pert things . . . and who cried out — 'You must know, Mr. Dean, that I set up for a wit!' 'Do you so?' says the Dean. 'Take my advice, and sit down again!'

"At another time, being in company, where a lady whisking her long train [long trains were then in fashion] swept down a fine fiddle and broke it; Swift cried out —

'Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!'"

— DR. DELANY: *Observations upon Lord Orrery's "Remarks, &c. on Swift."* London, 1754.

certainly would, he is afraid to use the poetical power which he really possessed; one often fancies in reading him that he dares not be eloquent when he might; that he does not speak above his voice, as it were, and the tone of society.

His initiation into politics, his knowledge of business, his knowledge of polite life, his acquaintance with literature even, which he could not have pursued very sedulously during that reckless career at Dublin, Swift got under the roof of Sir William Temple. He was fond of telling in after life what quantities of books he devoured there, and how King William taught him to cut asparagus in the Dutch fashion. It was at Shene and at Moor Park, with a salary of twenty pounds and a dinner at the upper servants' table, that this great and lonely Swift passed a ten years' apprenticeship — wore a cassock that was only not a livery — bent down a knee as proud as Lucifer's to supplicate my Lady's good graces, or run on his honor's errands.* It was here, as he was writing at Temple's table, or following his patron's walk, that he saw and heard the men who had governed the great world — measured himself with them, looking up from his silent corner, gauged their brains, weighed their wits, turned them, and tried them, and marked them. Ah! what platitudes he must have heard! what feeble jokes! what pompous commonplaces! what small men they must have seemed under those enormous periwigs, to the swarthy, uncouth, silent Irish secretary. I wonder

* "Don't you remember how I used to be in pain when Sir William Temple would look cold and out of humor for three or four days, and I used to suspect a hundred reasons? I have plucked up my spirits since then, faith; he spoiled a fine gentleman." — *Journal to Stella.*

[It should be added that this statement about the twenty pounds a year, and the upper servants' table, came from a hostile story told long afterwards by a nephew of Temple to Richardson the novelist. It is probably true enough of Swift's first stay as a raw lad in the family; but Temple came to value Swift's services much more highly, and induced him to return from Ireland by promises of preferment. Temple's death prevented their fulfillment, but it is clear that he had come to treat Swift with great respect.]

whether it ever struck Temple, that that Irishman was his master? I suppose that dismal conviction did not present itself under the ambrosial wig, or Temple could never have lived with Swift. Swift sickened, rebelled, left the service — ate humble pie and came back again; and so for ten years went on, gathering learning, swallowing scorn, and submitting with a stealthy rage to his fortune.

Temple's style is the perfection of practiced and easy good breeding. If he does not penetrate very deeply into a subject, he professes a very gentlemanly acquaintance with it; if he makes rather a parade of Latin, it was the custom of his day, as it was the custom for a gentleman to envelop his head in a periwig and his hands in lace ruffles. If he wears buckles and square-toed shoes, he steps in them with a consummate grace, and you never hear their creak, or find them treading upon any lady's train or any rival's heels in the Court crowd. When that grows too hot or too agitated for him, he politely leaves it. He retires to his retreat of Shene or Moor Park; and lets the King's party and the Prince of Orange's party battle it out among themselves. He reveres the Sovereign (and no man perhaps ever testified to his loyalty by so elegant a bow); he admires the Prince of Orange; but there is one person whose ease and comfort he loves more than all the princes in Christendom, and that valuable member of society is himself, Gulielmus Temple, Baronettus. One sees him in his retreat: between his study-chair and his tulip-beds,*

* ". . . The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expression, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of his mind and indolence of body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words, so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions: what is called by the Stoics apathy, or dispassion; by the sceptics, indisturbance; by the Molinists, quietism; by common men, peace of conscience — seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind. . . . For this reason Epicurus passed his life wholly in his garden; there he studied, there he

clipping his apricots and pruning his essays, — the statesman, the ambassador no more; but the philosopher, the Epicurean, the fine gentleman and courtier at Saint James's as at Shene; where, in place of kings and fair ladies, he pays his court to the Ciceronian majesty; or walks a minuet with the Epic Muse; or dallies by the south wall with the ruddy nymph of gardens.

Temple seems to have received and exacted a prodigious deal of veneration from his household, and to have been coaxed, and warmed, and cuddled by the people round about him, as delicately as any of the plants which he loved. When he fell ill in 1693, the household was aghast at his indisposition; mild Dorothea his wife, the best companion of the best of men —

> "Mild Dorothea, peaceful, wise, and great,
> Trembling beheld the doubtful hand of fate."

As for Dorinda, his sister, —

> "Those who would grief describe, might come and trace
> Its watery footsteps in Dorinda's face.

exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and, indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much to both the tranquillity of mind and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of the air, the pleasantness of smell, the verdure of plants, the cleanness and lightness of food, the exercise of working or walking; but, above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favor and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind. . . . Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it as what was much in use and delight among the kings of those Eastern countries. Strabo describing Jericho: 'Ibi est palmetum, cui immixtæ sunt etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus: ibi est Regis Balsami paradisus.'" — *Essay on Gardens.*

In the same famous essay Temple speaks of a friend, whose conduct and prudence he characteristically admires: —

". . . I thought it very prudent in a gentleman of my friends in Staffordshire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in these (by bestowing south walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and *a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.*"

To see her weep, joy every face forsook,
And grief flung sables on each menial look.
The humble tribe mourned for the quickening soul,
That furnished spirit and motion through the whole."

Isn't that line in which grief is described as putting the menials into a mourning livery, a fine image? One of the menials wrote it, who did not like that Temple livery nor those twenty-pound wages. Cannot one fancy the uncouth young servitor, with downcast eyes, books and papers in hand, following at his honor's heels in the garden walk; or taking his honor's orders as he stands by the great chair, where Sir William has the gout, and his feet all blistered with moxa? When Sir William has the gout or scolds it must be hard work at the second table;* the Irish secretary owned as much

* Swift's Thoughts on Hanging

(*Directions to Servants*)

"To grow old in the office of a footman is the highest of all indignities; therefore, when you find years coming on without hopes of a place at Court, a command in the army, a succession to the stewardship, an employment in the revenue (which two last you cannot obtain without reading and writing), or running away with your master's niece or daughter, I directly advise you to go upon the road, which is the only post of honor left you: there you will meet many of your old comrades, and live a short life and a merry one, and make a figure at your exit, wherein I will give you some instructions.

"The last advice I give you relates to your behavior when you are going to be hanged: which, either for robbing your master, for housebreaking, or going upon the highway, or in a drunken quarrel by killing the first man you meet, may very probably be your lot, and is owing to one of these three qualities: either a love of good-fellowship, a generosity of mind, or too much vivacity of spirits. Your good behavior on this article will concern your whole community: deny the fact with all solemnity of imprecations: a hundred of your brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the bar, and be ready upon demand to give you a character before the court; let nothing prevail on you to confess, but the promise of a pardon for discovering your comrades: but I suppose all this to be in vain; for if you escape now, your fate will be the same another day. Get a speech to be written by the best author of Newgate: some of your kind wenches will provide you with a holland shirt and white cap, crowned with a crimson or black ribbon: take leave cheerfully of all your friends in Newgate: mount the cart with courage: fall on your knees; lift up your eyes; hold a

afterwards; and when he came to dinner, how he must have lashed and growled and torn the household with his gibes and scorn! What would the steward say about the pride of them Irish schollards — and this one had got no great credit even at his Irish college, if the truth were known — and what a contempt his Excellency's own gentleman must have had for Parson Teague from Dublin! (The valets and chaplains were always at war. It is hard to say which Swift thought the more contemptible.) And what must have been the sadness, the sadness and terror, of the housekeeper's little daughter with the curling black ringlets and the sweet smiling face, when the secretary who teaches her to read and write, and whom she loves and reverences above all things — above mother, above mild Dorothea, above that tremendous Sir William in his square toes and periwig, — when *Mr. Swift* comes down from his master with rage in his heart, and has not a kind word even for little Hester Johnson?

Perhaps, for the Irish secretary, his Excellency's condescension was even more cruel than his frowns. Sir William *would* perpetually quote Latin and the ancient classics *à propos* of his gardens and his Dutch statues, and *plates-bandes*, and talk about Epicurus and Diogenes Laertius, Julius Cæsar, Semiramis, and the gardens of the Hesperides, Mæcenas, Strabo describing Jericho, and the Assyrian kings. *À propos* of beans, he would mention Pythagoras's precept to abstain from beans, and that this precept probably meant that wise men should abstain from public affairs. *He* is a placid Epicurean; *he* is a Pythagorean philosopher; *he* is a wise man — that is the deduction. Does not Swift think so? One can imagine the downcast eyes lifted up for a moment, and the

book in your hands, although you cannot read a word; deny the fact at the gallows; kiss and forgive the hangman, and so farewell: you shall be buried in pomp at the charge of the fraternity: the surgeon shall not touch a limb of you; and your frame shall continue until a successor of equal renown succeeds in your place. . . ."

flash of scorn which they emit. Swift's eyes were as azure as the heavens; Pope says nobly (as everything Pope said and thought of his friend was good and noble), "His eyes are as azure as the heavens, and have a charming archness in them." And one person in that household, that pompous, stately, kindly Moor Park, saw heaven nowhere else.

But the Temple amenities and solemnities did not agree with Swift. He was half-killed with a surfeit of Shene pippins; and in a garden-seat which he devised for himself at Moor Park, and where he devoured greedily the stock of books within his reach, he caught a vertigo and deafness which punished and tormented him through life. He could not bear the place or the servitude. Even in that poem of courtly condolence, from which we have quoted a few lines of mock melancholy, he breaks out of the funereal procession with a mad shriek, as it were, and rushes away crying his own grief, cursing his own fate, foreboding madness, and forsaken by fortune, and even hope.

I don't know anything more melancholy than the letter to Temple, in which, after having broke from his bondage, the poor wretch crouches piteously towards his cage again, and deprecates his master's anger. He asks for testimonials for orders.

"The particulars required of me are what relate to morals and learning; and the reasons of quitting your honor's family — that is, whether the last was occasioned by any ill action. They are left entirely to your honor's mercy, though in the first I think I cannot reproach myself for anything further than for *infirmities*. This is all I dare at present beg from your honor, under circumstances of life not worth your regard: what is left me to wish (next to the health and prosperity of your honor and family) is that Heaven would one day allow me the opportunity of leaving my acknowledg-

ments at your feet. I beg my most humble duty and service be presented to my ladies, your honor's lady and sister."

Can prostration fall deeper? could a slave bow lower?*

Twenty years afterwards Bishop Kennet, describing the same man, says: —

"Dr. Swift came into the coffeehouse and had a bow from everybody but me. When I came to the antechamber [at Court] to wait before prayers, Dr. Swift was the principal man of talk and business. He was soliciting the Earl of Arran to speak to his brother, the Duke of Ormond, to get a

* "He continued in Sir William Temple's house till the death of that great man." — *Anecdotes of the family of Swift*, by the Dean.

"It has since pleased God to take this good and great person to himself." — *Preface to Temple's Works.*

On all *public* occasions, Swift speaks of Sir William in the same tone. [The letter given above was written 6th October 1694, and is humiliating enough. Swift's relation to Temple changed, as already said. The passages, however, which follow, no doubt show a strong sense of "indignities" at one time or other.] But the reader will better understand how acutely he remembered the indignities he suffered in his household, from the subjoined extracts from the *Journal to Stella:* —

"I called at Mr. Secretary the other day, to see what the d—— ailed him on Sunday: I made him a very proper speech; told him I observed he was much out of temper, that I did not expect he would tell me the cause, but would be glad to see he was in better; and one thing I warned him of — never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a schoolboy; that I had felt too much of that in my life already" (*meaning Sir William Temple*), &c. &c. — *Journal to Stella.*

"I am thinking what a veneration we used to have for Sir William Temple because he might have been Secretary of State at fifty; and here is a young fellow hardly thirty in that employment." — *Ibid.*

"The Secretary is as easy with me as Mr. Addison was. I have often thought what a splutter Sir William Temple makes about being Secretary of State." — *Ibid.*

"Lord Treasurer has had an ugly fit of the rheumatism, but is now quite well. I was playing at *one-and-thirty* with him and his family the other night. He gave us all twelvepence apiece to begin with; it put me in mind of Sir William Temple." — *Ibid.*

"I thought I saw Jack Temple [*nephew to Sir William*] and his wife pass by me to-day in their coach; but I took no notice of them. I am glad I have wholly shaken off that family." — *S. to S., Sept.* 1710.

place for a clergyman. He was promising Mr. Thorold to undertake, with my Lord Treasurer, that he should obtain a salary of £200 per annum as member of the English Church at Rotterdam. He stopped F. Gwynne, Esquire, going into the Queen with the red bag, and told him aloud, he had something to say to him from my Lord Treasurer. He took out his gold watch, and telling the time of day, complained that it was very late. A gentleman said he was too fast. 'How can I help it,' says the Doctor, 'if the courtiers give me a watch that won't go right?' Then he instructed a young nobleman, that the best poet in England was Mr. Pope (a papist), who had begun a translation of Homer into English, for which he would have them all subscribe: 'For,' says he, 'he shall not begin to print till I have a thousand guineas for him.'* Lord Treasurer, after leaving the Queen, came through the room, beckoning Doctor Swift to follow him — both went off just before prayers."†

There's a little malice in the Bishop's "just before prayers."

This picture of the great Dean seems a true one, and is harsh, though not altogether unpleasant. He was doing good, and to deserving men, too, in the midst of these intrigues and triumphs. His journals and a thousand anecdotes of him relate his kind acts and rough manners. His hand was constantly stretched out to relieve an honest man — he

* "Swift must be allowed," says Doctor Johnson, "for a time, to have dictated the political opinions of the English nation."

A conversation on the Dean's pamphlets excited one of the Doctor's liveliest sallies. "One, in particular, praised his *Conduct of the Allies*. — JOHNSON: 'Sir, his *Conduct of the Allies* is a performance of very little ability. . . . Why, sir, Tom Davies might have written the *Conduct of the Allies!*'" — BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*.

† The passage as quoted in the text is slightly abbreviated. It may be observed that Swift fulfilled his promises of support to the "clergyman," Dr. Fiddes, author of a good life of Wolsey, and was very useful to Pope. Many other instances could be given of the "kind acts" mentioned in the next paragraph.

was cautious about his money, but ready. If you were in a strait, would you like such a benefactor? I think I would rather have had a potato and a friendly word from Goldsmith than have been beholden to the Dean for a guinea and a dinner.* He insulted a man as he served him, made women cry, guests look foolish, bullied unlucky friends, and flung his benefactions into poor men's faces. No; the Dean was no Irishman — no Irishman ever gave but with a kind word and a kind heart.

It is told, as if it were to Swift's credit, that the Dean of Saint Patrick's performed his family devotions every morning regularly, but with such secrecy that the guests in his house were never in the least aware of the ceremony. There was no need surely why a Church dignitary should assemble his family privily in a crypt, and as if he was afraid of heathen persecution. But I think the world was right, and the bishops who advised Queen Anne when they counseled her not to appoint the author of the "Tale of a Tub" to a bishopric, gave perfectly good advice. The man who wrote the arguments and illustrations in that wild book, could not but be aware

* "Whenever he fell into the company of any person for the first time, it was his custom to try their tempers and disposition by some abrupt question that bore the appearance of rudeness. If this were well taken, and answered with good-humor, he afterwards made amends by his civilities. But if he saw any marks of resentment, from alarmed pride, vanity, or conceit, he dropped all further intercourse with the party. This will be illustrated by an anecdote of that sort related by Mrs. Pilkington. After supper, the Dean, having decanted a bottle of wine, poured what remained into a glass, and seeing it was muddy, presented it to Mr. Pilkington to drink it. 'For,' said he, 'I always keep some poor parson to drink the foul wine for me.' Mr. Pilkington, entering into his humor, thanked him, and told him 'he did not know the difference, but was glad to get a glass at any rate.' 'Why, then,' said the Dean, 'you shan't, for I'll drink it myself. Why, —— take you, you are wiser than a paltry curate whom I asked to dine with me a few days ago; for upon my making the same speech to him, he said he did not understand such usage, and so walked off without his dinner. By the same token, I told the gentleman who recommended him to me that the fellow was a blockhead, and I had done with him.'" — SHERIDAN'S *Life of Swift*.

what must be the sequel of the propositions which he laid down. The boon companion of Pope and Bolingbroke, who chose these as the friends of his life, and the recipients of his confidence and affection, must have heard many an argument, and joined in many a conversation over Pope's port, or St. John's burgundy, which would not bear to be repeated at other men's boards.

I know of few things more conclusive as to the sincerity of Swift's religion than his advice to poor John Gay to turn clergyman, and look out for a seat on the Bench. Gay, the author of the "Beggar's Opera" — Gay, the wildest of the wits about town — it was this man that Jonathan Swift advised to take orders — to invest in a cassock and bands — just as he advised him to husband his shillings and put his thousand pounds out at interest. The Queen, and the bishops, and the world, were right in mistrusting the religion of that man.*

* *From the Archbishop of Cashell*

"CASHELL: *May 31st*, 1735

"DEAR SIR, — I have been so unfortunate in all my contests of late, that I am resolved to have no more, especially where I am likely to be overmatched; and as I have some reason to hope what is past will be forgotten, I confess I did endeavor in my last to put the best color I could think of upon a very bad cause. My friends judge right of my idleness; but, in reality, it has hitherto proceeded from a hurry and confusion, arising from a thousand unlucky unforeseen accidents rather than mere sloth. I have but one troublesome affair now upon my hands, which, by the help of the prime sergeant, I hope soon to get rid of; and then you shall see me a true Irish bishop. Sir James Ware has made a very useful collection of the memorable actions of my predecessors. He tells me, they were born in such a town of England or Ireland; were consecrated such a year; and if not translated, were buried in the Cathedral Church, either on the north or south side. Whence I conclude that a good bishop has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die; which laudable example I propose for the remainder of my life to follow; for to tell you the truth, I have for these four or five years past met with so much treachery, baseness, and ingratitude among mankind, that I can hardly think it incumbent on any man to endeavor to do good to so perverse a generation.

"I am truly concerned at the account you give me of your health. Without doubt a southern ramble will prove the best remedy you can take to recover

I am not here, of course, to speak of any man's religious views, except in so far as they influence his literary character, his life, his humor. The most notorious sinners of all those fellow-mortals whom it is our business to discuss — Harry Fielding and Dick Steele — were especially loud, and I believe really fervent in their expressions of belief; they belabored freethinkers, and stoned imaginary atheists on all sorts of occasions, going out of their way to bawl their own creed, and persecute their neighbor's, and if they sinned and stumbled, as they constantly did with debt, with drink, with all sorts of bad behavior, they got upon their knees and cried "Peccavi" with a most sonorous orthodoxy. Yes; poor Harry Fielding and poor Dick Steele were trusty and undoubting Church of England men; they abhorred Popery, Atheism, and wooden shoes and idolatries in general; and hiccuped Church and State with fervor.

But Swift? *His* mind had had a different schooling, and possessed a very different logical power. *He* was not bred up

your flesh; and I do not know, except in one stage, where you can choose a road so suited to your circumstances, as from Dublin hither. You have to Kilkenny a turnpike and good inns, at every ten or twelve miles' end. From Kilkenny hither is twenty long miles, bad road, and no inns at all: but I have an expedient for you. At the foot of a very high hill, just midway, there lives in a neat thatched cabin a parson, who is not poor; his wife is allowed to be the best little woman in the world. Her chickens are the fattest, and her ale the best in all the country. Besides, the parson has a little cellar of his own, of which he keeps the key, where he always has a hogshead of the best wine that can be got, in bottles well corked, upon their side; and he cleans, and pulls out the cork better, I think, than Robin. Here I design to meet you with a coach; if you be tired, you shall stay all night; if not, after dinner, we will set out about four, and be at Cashell by nine; and by going through fields and byways, which the parson will show us, we shall escape all the rocky and stony roads that lie between this place and that, which are certainly very bad. I hope you will be so kind as to let me know a post or two before you set out, the very day you will be at Kilkenny, that I may have all things prepared for you. It may be, if you ask him, Cope will come: he will do nothing for me. Therefore, depending upon your positive promise, I shall add no more arguments to persuade you, and am, with the greatest truth, your most faithful and obedient servant,

"Theo. Cashell"

in a tipsy guardroom, and did not learn to reason in a Covent Garden tavern. He could conduct an argument from beginning to end. He could see forward with a fatal clearness. In his old age, looking at the "Tale of a Tub," when he said, "Good God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book!" I think he was admiring, not the genius, but the consequences to which the genius had brought him — a vast genius, a magnificent genius, a genius wonderfully bright, and dazzling, and strong, — to seize, to know, to see, to flash upon falsehood and scorch it into perdition, to penetrate into the hidden motives, and expose the black thoughts of men, — an awful, an evil spirit.

Ah man! you, educated in Epicurean Temple's library, you whose friends were Pope and St. John — what made you to swear to fatal vows, and bind yourself to a lifelong hypocrisy before the Heaven which you adored with such real wonder, humility, and reverence? For Swift's was a reverent, was a pious spirit — for Swift could love and could pray. Through the storms and tempests of his furious mind, the stars of religion and love break out in the blue, shining serenely, though hidden by the driving clouds and the maddened hurricane of his life.

It is my belief that he suffered frightfully from the consciousness of his own skepticism, and that he had bent his pride so far down as to put his apostasy out to hire.* The paper left behind him, called "Thoughts on Religion," is merely a set of excuses for not professing disbelief. He says of his sermons that he preached pamphlets: they have scarce a Christian characteristic; they might be preached from the steps of a synagogue, or the floor of a mosque, or the box of a

* "Mr. Swift lived with him [Sir William Temple] some time, but resolving to settle himself in some way of living, was inclined to take orders. However, although his fortune was very small, he had a scruple of entering into the Church merely for support." — *Anecdotes of the Family of Swift*, by the Dean.

coffeehouse almost. There is little or no cant — he is too great and too proud for that; and, in so far as the badness of his sermons goes, he is honest. But having put that cassock on, it poisoned him; he was strangled in his bands. He goes through life, tearing, like a man possessed with a devil. Like Abudah in the Arabian story, he is always looking out for the Fury, and knows that the night will come and the inevitable hag with it. What a night, my God, it was! what a lonely rage and long agony — what a vulture that tore the heart of that giant!* It is awful to think of the great sufferings of this great man. Through life he always seems alone, somehow. Goethe was so. I can't fancy Shakespeare otherwise. The giants must live apart. The kings can have no company. But this man suffered so; and deserved so to suffer. One hardly reads anywhere of such a pain.

The "sæva indignatio" of which he spoke as lacerating his heart, and which he dares to inscribe on his tombstone — as if the wretch who lay under that stone waiting God's judgment had a right to be angry — breaks out from him in a thousand pages of his writing, and tears and rends him. Against men in office, he having been overthrown; against men in England, he having lost his chance of preferment there, the furious exile never fails to rage and curse. Is it fair to call the famous "Drapier's Letters" patriotism? They are masterpieces of dreadful humor and invective: they are reasoned logically enough too, but the proposition is as monstrous and fabulous as the Lilliputian island. It is not that the grievance is so great, but there is his enemy — the assault is wonderful for its activity and terrible rage. It is Samson, with a bone in his hand, rushing on his enemies and felling

* "Dr. Swift had a natural severity of face, which even his smiles could scarce soften, or his utmost gayety render placid and serene; but when that sternness of visage was increased by rage, it is scarce possible to imagine looks or features that carried in them more terror and austerity." — *Orrery*.

them: one admires not the cause so much as the strength, the anger, the fury of the champion. As is the case with madmen, certain subjects provoke him, and awaken his fits of wrath. Marriage is one of these; in a hundred passages in his writings he rages against it; rages against children; an object of constant satire, even more contemptible in his eyes than a lord's chaplain, is a poor curate with a large family. The idea of this luckless paternity never fails to bring down from him gibes and foul language. Could Dick Steele, or Goldsmith, or Fielding, in his most reckless moment of satire, have written anything like the Dean's famous "Modest Proposal" for eating children? Not one of these but melts at the thoughts of childhood, fondles and caresses it. Mr. Dean has no such softness, and enters the nursery with the tread and gayety of an ogre.* "I have been assured," says he in the "Modest Proposal," "by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked or boiled; and I make no doubt it will equally serve in a *ragoût*." And taking up this pretty joke, as his way is, he argues it with perfect gravity and logic. He turns and twists this subject in a score of different ways; he hashes it; and he serves it up cold; and he garnishes it; and relishes it always. He describes the little animal as "dropped from its dam," advising that the mother should let it suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render it plump and fat for a good table! "A child," says his Reverence, "will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter

* "LONDON: *April 10th*, 1713

"Lady Masham's eldest boy is very ill: I doubt he will not live; and she stays at Kensington to nurse him, which vexes us all. She is so excessively fond, it makes me mad. She should never leave the Queen, but leave everything, to stick to what is so much the interest of the public, as well as her own. . . ." — *Journal*.

will make a reasonable dish," and so on; and the subject being so delightful that he can't leave it, he proceeds to recommend, in place of venison for squires' tables, "the bodies of young lads and maidens not exceeding fourteen or under twelve." Amiable humorist! laughing castigator of morals! There was a process well known and practised in the Dean's gay days; when a lout entered the coffeehouse, the wags proceeded to what they called "roasting" him. This is roasting a subject with a vengeance. The Dean had a native genius for it. As the "Almanach des Gourmands" says, "On naît rôtisseur."

And it was not merely by the sarcastic method that Swift exposed the unreasonableness of loving and having children. In "Gulliver," the folly of love and marriage is urged by graver arguments and advice. In the famous Lilliputian kingdom, Swift speaks with approval of the practice of instantly removing children from their parents and educating them by the State; and amongst his favorite horses, a pair of foals are stated to be the very utmost a well-regulated equine couple would permit themselves. In fact, our great satirist was of opinion that conjugal love was unadvisable, and illustrated the theory by his own practice and example — God help him! — which made him about the most wretched being in God's world.*

The grave and logical conduct of an absurd proposition, as exemplified in the cannibal proposal just mentioned, is our author's constant method through all his works of humor. Given a country of people six inches or sixty feet high, and by the mere process of the logic, a thousand wonderful absurdities are evolved, at so many stages of the calculation. Turning to the First Minister who waited behind him with a white staff near as tall as the mainmast of the *Royal Sovereign*,

* "My health is somewhat mended, but at best I have an ill head and an aching heart." — *In May* 1719.

the King of Brobdingnag observes how contemptible a thing human grandeur is, as represented by such a contemptible little creature as Gulliver. "The Emperor of Lilliput's features are strong and masculine" (what a surprising humor there is in this description!) — "The Emperor's features," Gulliver says, "are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip, an arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, and his deportment majestic. He is taller *by the breadth of my nail* than any of his Court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into beholders."

What a surprising humor there is in these descriptions! How noble the satire is here! how just and honest! How perfect the image! Mr. Macaulay has quoted the charming lines of the poet where the king of the pygmies is measured by the same standard. We have all read in Milton of the spear that was like "the mast of some great ammiral"; but these images are surely likely to come to the comic poet originally. The subject is before him. He is turning it in a thousand ways. He is full of it. The figure suggests itself naturally to him, and comes out of his subject, as in that wonderful passage, when Gulliver's box having been dropped by the eagle into the sea, and Gulliver having been received into the ship's cabin, he calls upon the crew to bring the box into the cabin, and put it on the table, the cabin being only a quarter the size of the box. It is the *veracity* of the blunder which is so admirable. Had a man come from such a country as Brobdingnag, he would have blundered so.

But the best stroke of humor, if there be a best in that abounding book, is that where Gulliver, in the unpronounceable country, describes his parting from his master the horse.*

* Perhaps the most melancholy satire in the whole of the dreadful book is the description of the very old people in the "Voyage to Laputa." At Lugnag, Gulliver hears of some persons who never die, called the Struldbrugs, and

"I took," he says, "a second leave of my master, but as I was going to prostrate myself to kiss his hoof, he did me the honor to raise it gently to my mouth. I am not ignorant how

expressing a wish to become acquainted with men who must have so much learning and experience, his colloquist describes the Struldbrugs to him.

"He said: They commonly acted like mortals, till about thirty years old, after which, by degrees, they grew melancholy and dejected, increasing in both till they came to fourscore. This he learned from their own confession: for otherwise there not being above two or three of that species born in an age, they were too few to form a general observation by. When they came to fourscore years, which is reckoned the extremity of living in this country, they had not only all the follies and infirmities of other old men, but many more, which arose from the dreadful prospect of never dying. They were not only opinionative, peevish, covetous, morose, vain, talkative, but incapable of friendship, and dead to all natural affection, which never descended below their grandchildren. Envy and impotent desires are their prevailing passions. But those objects against which their envy seems principally directed, are the vices of the younger sort and the deaths of the old. By reflecting on the former, they find themselves cut off from all possibility of pleasure; and whenever they see a funeral, they lament, and repine that others are gone to a harbor of rest, to which they themselves never can hope to arrive. They have no remembrance of anything but what they learned and observed in their youth and middle age, and even that is very imperfect. And for the truth or particulars of any fact, it is safer to depend on common tradition than upon their best recollections. The least miserable among them appear to be those who turn to dotage, and entirely lose their memories; these meet with more pity and assistance, because they want many bad qualities which abound in others.

"If a Struldbrug happen to marry one of his own kind, the marriage is dissolved of course, by the courtesy of the kingdom, as soon as the younger of the two comes to be fourscore. For the law thinks it a reasonable indulgence that those who are condemned, without any fault of their own, to a perpetual continuance in the world, should not have their misery doubled by the load of a wife.

"As soon as they have completed the term of eighty years, they are looked on as dead in law; their heirs immediately succeed to their estates, only a small pittance is reserved for their support; and the poor ones are maintained at the public charge. After that period they are held incapable of any employment of trust or profit, they cannot purchase lands or take leases, neither are they allowed to be witnesses in any cause, either civil or criminal, not even for the decision of meers and bounds.

"At ninety they lose their teeth and hair; they have at that age no distinction of taste, but eat and drink whatever they can get without relish or appetite. The diseases they were subject to still continue, without increasing or diminishing. In talking, they forget the common appellation of things,

much I have been censured for mentioning this last particular. Detractors are pleased to think it improbable that so illustrious a person should descend to give so great a mark of distinction to a creature so inferior as I. Neither have I forgotten how apt some travelers are to boast of extraordinary favors they have received. But if these censurers were better acquainted with the noble and courteous disposition of the Houyhnhnms they would soon change their opinion."

The surprise here, the audacity of circumstantial evidence,

and the names of persons, even of those who are their nearest friends and relations. For the same reason, they can never amuse themselves with reading, because their memory will not serve to carry them from the beginning of a sentence to the end; and by this defect they are deprived of the only entertainment whereof they might otherwise be capable.

"The language of this country being always upon the flux, the Struldbrugs of one age do not understand those of another; neither are they able, after two hundred years, to hold any conversation (further than by a few general words) with their neighbors, the mortals; and thus they lie under the disadvantage of living like foreigners in their own country.

"This was the account given me of the Struldbrugs, as near as I can remember. I afterwards saw five or six of different ages, the youngest not above two hundred years old, who were brought to me at several times by some of my friends; but although they were told 'that I was a great traveler, and had seen all the world,' they had not the least curiosity to ask me a question; only desired I would give them slumskudask, or a token of remembrance; which is a modest way of begging, to avoid the law, that strictly forbids it, because they are provided for by the public, although indeed with a very scanty allowance.

"They are despised and hated by all sorts of people; when one of them is born, it is reckoned ominous, and their birth is recorded very particularly; so that you may know their age by consulting the register, which, however, has not been kept above a thousand years past, or at least has been destroyed by time or public disturbances. But the usual way of computing how old they are, is by asking them what kings or great persons they can remember, and then consulting history; for infallibly the last prince in their mind did not begin his reign after they were fourscore years old.

"They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld, and the women more horrible than the men; besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness, in proportion to their number of years, which is not to be described; and among half-a-dozen, I soon distinguished which was the eldest, although there was not above a century or two between them." — *Gulliver's Travels*.

the astounding gravity of the speaker, who is not ignorant how much he has been censured, the nature of the favor conferred, and the respectful exultation at the receipt of it, are surely complete: it is truth topsy-turvy, entirely logical and absurd.

As for the humor and conduct of this famous fable, I suppose there is no person who reads but must admire; as for the moral, I think it horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous; and giant and great as this Dean is, I say we should hoot him. Some of this audience mayn't have read the last part of Gulliver, and to such I would recall the advice of the venerable Mr. Punch to persons about to marry, and say "Don't." When Gulliver first lands among the Yahoos, the naked howling wretches clamber up trees and assault him, and he describes himself as "almost stifled with the filth which fell about him." The reader of the fourth part of "Gulliver's Travels" is like the hero himself in this instance. It is Yahoo language: a monster gibbering shrieks, and gnashing imprecations against mankind — tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in word, filthy in thought, furious, raging, obscene.

And dreadful it is to think that Swift knew the tendency of his creed — the fatal rocks toward which his logic desperately drifted. That last part of "Gulliver" is only a consequence of what has gone before; and the worthlessness of all mankind, the pettiness, cruelty, pride, imbecility, the general vanity, the foolish pretension, the mock greatness, the pompous dullness, the mean aims, the base successes — all these were present to him; it was with the din of these curses of the world, blasphemies against Heaven, shrieking in his ears, that he began to write his dreadful allegory — of which the meaning is that man is utterly wicked, desperate, and imbecile, and his passions are so monstrous, and his boasted powers so mean, that he is and deserves to be the slave of

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brutes, and ignorance is better than his vaunted reason. What had this man done? what secret remorse was rankling at his heart? what fever was boiling in him, that he should see all the world bloodshot? We view the world with our own eyes, each of us; and we make from within us the world we see. A weary heart gets no gladness out of sunshine; a selfish man is skeptical about friendship, as a man with no ear doesn't care for music. A frightful self-consciousness it must have been, which looked on mankind so darkly through those keen eyes of Swift.

A remarkable story is told by Scott, of Delany, who interrupted Archbishop King and Swift in a conversation which left the prelate in tears, and from which Swift rushed away with marks of strong terror and agitation in his countenance, upon which the Archbishop said to Delany, "You have just met the most unhappy man on earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." *

The most unhappy man on earth; — *Miserrimus* — what a character of him! And at this time all the great wits of England had been at his feet. All Ireland had shouted after him, and worshiped him as a liberator, a saviour, the greatest Irish patriot and citizen. Dean Drapier Bickerstaff Gulliver — the most famous statesmen and the greatest poets of his day had applauded him and done him homage; and at this time, writing over to Bolingbroke from Ireland, he says, "It is time for me to have done with the world, and so I would if I could get into a better before I was called into the best, *and not die here in a rage, like a poisoned rat in a hole.*"

We have spoken about the men, and Swift's behavior to them; and now it behooves us not to forget that there are certain other persons in the creation who had rather intimate

* This remarkable story came to Scott from an unnamed friend of Delany's widow. It has been supposed to confirm the conjecture about his natural relationship to Stella; but, even if correctly reported, is open to any number of interpretations.

relations with the great Dean.* Two women whom he loved and injured are known by every reader of books so familiarly that if we had seen them, or if they had been relatives of our own, we scarcely could have known them better. Who hasn't in his mind an image of Stella? Who does not love her? Fair and tender creature: pure and affectionate heart! Boots it to you, now that you have been at rest for a hundred and twenty years, not divided in death from the cold heart which caused yours, whilst it beat, such faithful pangs of love and grief — boots it to you now, that the whole world loves and deplores you? Scarce any man, I believe, ever thought of that grave, that did not cast a flower of pity on it, and write over it a sweet epitaph. Gentle lady, so lovely, so loving, so unhappy! you have had countless champions; millions of manly hearts mourning for you. From generation to generation we take up the fond tradition of your beauty, we watch and follow your tragedy, your bright morning love and purity, your constancy, your grief, your sweet martyrdom. We know your legend by heart. You are one of the saints of English story.

* The name of Varina has been thrown into the shade by those of the famous Stella and Vanessa; but she had a story of her own to tell about the blue eyes of young Jonathan. One may say that the book of Swift's Life opens at places kept by these blighted flowers! Varina must have a paragraph.

She was a Miss Jane Waryng, sister to a college chum of his. In 1696, when Swift was nineteen years old, we find him writing a love-letter to her, beginning, "Impatience is the most inseparable quality of a lover." But absence made a great difference in his feelings; so, four years afterwards, the tone is changed. He writes again, a very curious letter, offering to marry her, and putting the offer in such a way that nobody could possibly accept it.

After dwelling on his poverty, etc., he says, conditionally, "I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful, or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first, and competency in the second, is all I ask for!"

The editors do not tell us what became of Varina in life. One would be glad to know that she met with some worthy partner, and lived long enough to see her little boys laughing over Lilliput, without any *arrière pensée* of a sad character about the great Dean!

And if Stella's love and innocence are charming to contemplate, I will say that, in spite of ill-usage, in spite of drawbacks, in spite of mysterious separation and union, of hope delayed and sickened heart — in the teeth of Vanessa, and that little episodical aberration which plunged Swift into such woeful pitfalls and quagmires of amorous perplexity — in spite of the verdicts of most women, I believe, who, as far as my experience and conversation go, generally take Vanessa's part in the controversy — in spite of the tears which Swift caused Stella to shed, and the rocks and barriers which fate and temper interposed, and which prevented the pure course of that true love from running smoothly — the brightest part of Swift's story, the pure star in that dark and tempestuous life of Swift's, is his love for Hester Johnson. It has been my business, professionally of course, to go through a deal of sentimental reading in my time, and to acquaint myself with love-making, as it has been described in various languages, and at various ages of the world; and I know of nothing more manly, more tender, more exquisitely touching, than some of these brief notes, written in what Swift calls "his little language" in his journal to Stella.* He writes to her night and morning often. He never sends away a letter to her but he begins a new one on the same day. He can't bear to let go her kind little hand, as it were. He knows that she is thinking of him, and longing for him far away in Dublin

* A sentimental Champollion might find a good deal of matter for his art, in expounding the symbols of the "Little Language." Usually, Stella is "M.D.," but sometimes her companion, Mrs. Dingley, is included in it. Swift is "Presto"; also P.D.F.R. We have "Good-night, M.D.; Night, M.D.; Little M.D.; Stellakins; Pretty Stella; Dear, roguish, impudent, pretty M.D." Every now and then he breaks into rhyme, as —

"I wish you both a merry new year,
Roast beef, mince pies, and good strong beer,
And me a share of your good cheer,
That I was there, as you were here,
And you are a little saucy dear."

yonder. He takes her letters from under his pillow and talks to them, familiarly, paternally, with fond epithets and pretty caresses — as he would to the sweet and artless creature who loved him. "Stay," he writes one morning — it is the 14th of December 1710 — "Stay, I will answer some of your letter this morning in bed. Let me see. Come and appear, little letter! Here I am, says he, and what say you to Stella this morning fresh and fasting? And can Stella read this writing without hurting her dear eyes?" he goes on, after more kind prattle and fond whispering. The dear eyes shine clearly upon him then — the good angel of his life is with him and blessing him. Ah, it was a hard fate that wrung from them so many tears, and stabbed pitilessly that pure and tender bosom. A hard fate: but would she have changed it? I have heard a woman say that she would have taken Swift's cruelty to have had his tenderness. He had a sort of worship for her whilst he wounded her. He speaks of her after she is gone; of her wit, of her kindness, of her grace, of her beauty, with a simple love and reverence that are indescribably touching; in contemplation of her goodness his hard heart melts into pathos; his cold rhyme kindles and glows into poetry, and he falls down on his knees, so to speak, before the angel whose life he had embittered, confesses his own wretchedness and unworthiness, and adores her with cries of remorse and love: —

"When on my sickly couch I lay,
Impatient both of night and day,
And groaning in unmanly strains,
Called every power to ease my pains,
Then Stella ran to my relief,
With cheerful face and inward grief,
And though by Heaven's severe decree
She suffers hourly more than me,
No cruel master could require
From slaves employed for daily hire,

What Stella, by her friendship warmed,
With vigor and delight performed.
Now, with a soft and silent tread,
Unheard she moves about my bed:
My sinking spirits now supplies
With cordials in her hands and eyes.
Best pattern of true friends! beware
You pay too dearly for your care
If, while your tenderness secures
My life, it must endanger yours:
For such a fool was never found
Who pulled a palace to the ground,
Only to have the ruins made
Materials for a house decayed."

One little triumph Stella had in her life — one dear little piece of injustice was performed in her favor, for which I confess, for my part, I can't help thanking fate and the Dean. *That other person* was sacrificed to her — that — that young woman, who lived five doors from Doctor Swift's lodgings in Bury Street, and who flattered him, and made love to him in such an outrageous manner — Vanessa was thrown over.

Swift did not keep Stella's letters to him in reply to those he wrote to her.* He kept Bolingbroke's, and Pope's, and

* The following passages are from a paper begun by Swift on the evening of the day of her death, Jan. 28, 1727–28: —

"She was sickly from her childhood, until about the age of fifteen; but then she grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London — only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection.

". . . Properly speaking" — he goes on, with a calmness which, under the circumstances, is terrible — "she has been dying six months! . . .

"Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation. . . . All of us who had the happiness of her friendship agreed unanimously, that in an afternoon's or evening's conversation she never failed before we parted of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *bons mots*, wherein she excelled beyond belief."

The specimens on record, however, in the Dean's paper, called "Bon Mots

Harley's, and Peterborough's: but Stella "very carefully," the Lives say, kept Swift's. Of course: that is the way of the world: and so we cannot tell what her style was, or of what sort were the little letters which the Doctor placed there at night, and bade to appear from under his pillow of a morning. But in Letter IV of that famous collection he describes his lodging in Bury Street, where he has the first floor, a dining room and bedchamber, at eight shillings a week; and in Letter VI he says "he has visited a lady just come to town," whose name somehow is not mentioned; and in Letter VIII he enters a query of Stella's — "What do you mean 'that boards near me, that I dine with now and then'? What the deuce! You know whom I have dined with every day since I left you, better than I do." Of course she does. Of course Swift has not the slightest idea of what she means. But in a few letters more it turns out that the Doctor has been to dine "gravely" with a Mrs. Vanhomrigh: then that he has been to "his neighbor": then that he has been unwell, and means to dine for the whole week with his neighbor! Stella was quite right in her previsions. She saw from the very first

de Stella," scarcely bear out this last part of the panegyric. But the following prove her wit: —

"A gentleman who had been very silly and pert in her company, at last began to grieve at remembering the loss of a child lately dead. A bishop sitting by comforted him — that he should be easy, because 'the child was gone to heaven.' 'No, my Lord,' said she; 'that is it which most grieves him, because he is sure never to see his child there.'

"When she was extremely ill, her physician said, 'Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavor to get you up again.' She answered, 'Doctor, I fear I shall be out of breath before I get up to the top.'

"A very dirty clergyman of her acquaintance, who affected smartness and repartees, was asked by some of the company how his nails came to be so dirty. He was at a loss; but she solved the difficulty by saying, 'The Doctor's nails grew dirty by scratching himself.'

"A Quaker apothecary sent her a vial, corked; it had a broad brim, and a label of paper about its neck. 'What is that?' — said she — 'my apothecary's son!' The ridiculous resemblance, and the suddenness of the question, set us all a-laughing." — *Swift's Works*, Scott's ed. vol. ix. 295–96.

hint what was going to happen; and scented Vanessa in the air.* The rival is at the Dean's feet. The pupil and teacher are reading together, and drinking tea together, and going to prayers together, and learning Latin together, and conjugating *amo*, *amas*, *amavi* together. The "little language" is over for poor Stella. By the rule of grammar and the course of conjugation, doesn't *amavi* come after *amo* and *amas?*

The loves of Cadenus and Vanessa* you may peruse in Cadenus's own poem on the subject, and in poor Vanessa's vehement expostulatory verses and letters to him; she adores him, implores him, admires him, thinks him something godlike, and only prays to be admitted to lie at his feet.† As they

* "I am so hot and lazy after my morning's walk, that I loitered at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, where my best gown and periwig was, and *out of mere listlessness dine there very often;* so I did to-day." — *Journal to Stella.*

Mrs. Vanhomrigh, "Vanessa's" mother, was the widow of a Dutch merchant who held lucrative appointments in King William's time. The family settled in London in 1709, and had a house in Bury Street, St. James's — a street made notable by such residents as Swift and Steele; and, in our own time, Moore and Crabbe.

* "Vanessa was excessively vain. The character given of her by Cadenus is fine painting, but in general fictitious. She was fond of dress; impatient to be admired; very romantic in her turn of mind; superior, in her own opinion, to all her sex; full of pertness, gayety, and pride; not without some agreeable accomplishments, but far from being either beautiful or genteel; . . . happy in the thoughts of being reported Swift's concubine, but still aiming and intending to be his wife." — *Lord Orrery.*

† "You bid me be easy, and you would see me as often as you could. You had better have said, as often as you can get the better of your inclinations so much; or as often as you remember there was such a one in the world. If you continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made uneasy by me long. It is impossible to describe what I have suffered since I saw you last; I am sure I could have borne the rack much better than those killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to die without seeing you more; but those resolves, to your misfortune, did not last long; for there is something in human nature that prompts one so to find relief in this world I must give way to it, and beg you would see me, and speak kindly to me; for I am sure you'd not condemn any one to suffer what I have done, could you but know it. The reason I write to you is, because I cannot tell it to you should I see you; for when I begin to complain, then you are angry, and there is something in your looks so awful that it strikes me dumb. Oh! that you may have but so much regard

are bringing him home from church, those divine feet of Doctor Swift's are found pretty often in Vanessa's parlor. He likes to be admired and adored. He finds Miss Vanhomrigh to be a woman of great taste and spirit, and beauty and wit, and a fortune too. He sees her every day; he does not tell Stella about the business; until the impetuous Vanessa becomes too fond of him, until the Doctor is quite frightened by the young woman's ardor, and confounded by her warmth. He wanted to marry neither of them — that I believe was the truth; but if he had not married Stella, Vanessa would have had him in spite of himself. When he went back to Ireland, his Ariadne, not content to remain in her isle, pursued the fugitive Dean. In vain he protested, he vowed, he soothed, and bullied; the news of the Dean's marriage with Stella at last came to her, and it killed her — she died of that passion.*

for me left that this complaint may touch your soul with pity. I say as little as ever I can; did you but know what I thought, I am sure it would move you to forgive me; and believe I cannot help telling you this and live." — *Vanessa.* (M. 1714.)

* "If we consider Swift's behavior, so far only as it relates to women, we shall find that he looked upon them rather as busts than as whole figures." — *Orrery.*

"You would have smiled to have found his house a constant seraglio of very virtuous women, who attended him from morning till night." — *Orrery.*

A correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's furnished him with the materials on which to found the following interesting passage about Vanessa — after she had retired to cherish her passion in retreat: —

"Marley Abbey, near Celbridge, where Miss Vanhomrigh resided, is built much in the form of a real cloister, especially in its external appearance. An aged man (upwards of ninety, by his own account) showed the grounds to my correspondent. He was the son of Mrs. Vanhomrigh's gardener, and used to work with his father in the garden when a boy. He remembered the unfortunate Vanessa well; and his account of her corresponded with the usual description of her person, especially as to her *embonpoint.* He said she went seldom abroad, and saw little company: her constant amusement was reading, or walking in the garden. . . . She avoided company, and was always melancholy, save when Dean Swift was there, and then she seemed happy. The garden was to an uncommon degree crowded with laurels. The old man said that when Miss Vanhomrigh expected the Dean she always planted with her

And when she died, and Stella heard that Swift had written beautifully regarding her, "That doesn't surprise me," said Mrs. Stella, "for we all know the Dean could write beautifully about a broomstick." A woman — a true woman! Would you have had one of them forgive the other?

own hand a laurel or two against his arrival. He showed her favorite seat, still called 'Vanessa's bower.' Three or four trees and some laurels indicate the spot. . . . There were two seats and a rude table within the bower, the opening of which commanded a view of the Liffey. . . . In this sequestered spot, according to the old gardener's account, the Dean and Vanessa used often to sit, with books and writing materials on the table before them." — SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. i. pp. 246–47.

". . . But Miss Vanhomrigh, irritated at the situation in which she found herself, determined on bringing to a crisis those expectations of a union with the object of her affections — to the hope of which she had clung amid every vicissitude of his conduct towards her. The most probable bar was his undefined connection with Mrs. Johnson, which, as it must have been perfectly known to her, had, doubtless, long excited her secret jealousy, although only a single hint to that purpose is to be found in their correspondence, and that so early as 1713, when she writes to him — then in Ireland — 'If you are very happy, it is ill-natured of you not to tell me so, *except 'tis what is inconsistent with mine.*' Her silence and patience under this state of uncertainty for no less than eight years, must have been partly owing to her awe for Swift, and partly, perhaps, to the weak state of her rival's health, which, from year to year, seemed to announce speedy dissolution. At length, however, Vanessa's impatience prevailed, and she ventured on the decisive step of writing to Mrs. Johnson herself, requesting to know the nature of that connection. Stella, in reply, informed her of her marriage with the Dean; and full of the highest resentment against Swift for having given another female such a right in him as Miss Vanhomrigh's inquiries implied, she sent to him her rival's letter of interrogation, and without seeing him, or awaiting his reply, retired to the house of Mr. Ford, near Dublin. Every reader knows the consequence. Swift, in one of those paroxysms of fury to which he was liable, both from temper and disease, rode instantly to Marley Abbey. As he entered the apartment, the sternness of his countenance, which was peculiarly formed to express the fiercer passions, struck the unfortunate Vanessa with such terror that she could scarce ask whether he would not sit down. He answered by flinging a letter on the table, and, instantly leaving the house, mounted his horse, and returned to Dublin. When Vanessa opened the packet, she only found her own letter to Stella. It was her death warrant. She sunk at once under the disappointment of the delayed yet cherished hopes which had so long sickened her heart, and beneath the unrestrained wrath of him for whose sake she had indulged them. How long she survived this last interview is uncertain, but the time does not seem to have exceeded a few weeks." — *Scott.*

In a note in his biography, Scott says that his friend Doctor Tuke, of Dublin, has a lock of Stella's hair, inclosed in a paper by Swift, on which are written in the Dean's hand, the words: "*Only a woman's hair.*" An instance, says Scott, of the Dean's desire to veil his feelings under the mask of cynical indifference.

See the various notions of critics! Do those words indicate indifference or an attempt to hide feeling? Did you ever hear or read four words more pathetic? Only a woman's hair; only love, only fidelity, only purity, innocence, beauty; only the tenderest heart in the world stricken and wounded, and passed away now out of reach of pangs of hope deferred, love insulted, and pitiless desertion: — only that lock of hair left; and memory and remorse, for the guilty lonely wretch, shuddering over the grave of his victim.*

And yet to have had so much love, he must have given some. Treasures of wit and wisdom, and tenderness, too, must that man have had locked up in the caverns of his gloomy heart, and shown fitfully to one or two whom he took in there. But it was not good to visit that place. People did not remain there long, and suffered for having been there.† He shrank away from all affection sooner or later. Stella and Vanessa both died near him, and away from him. He had not heart enough to see them die. He broke from his fastest friend, Sheridan; he slunk away from his fondest admirer, Pope.

* Thackeray wrote to Hayward, who had said something of this lecture when originally delivered, and had apparently misunderstood this passage, that the phrase quoted seemed to him to be "the most affecting words I ever heard, indicating the truest love, passion, and remorse." — *Hayward Correspondence*, i. 119.

† "M. Swift est Rabelais dans son bon sens, et vivant en bonne compagnie. Il n'a pas, à la vérité, la gaîté du premier, mais il a toute la finesse, la raison, le choix, le bon goût qui manquent à notre curé de Meudon. Ses vers sont d'un goût singulier, et presque inimitable; la bonne plaisanterie est son partage en vers et en prose; mais pour le bien entendre il faut faire un petit voyage dans son pays." — VOLTAIRE. *Lettres sur les Anglais*. Lettre XX.

His laugh jars on one's ear after sevenscore years. He was always alone — alone and gnashing in the darkness, except when Stella's sweet smile came and shone upon him. When that went, silence and utter night closed over him. An immense genius: an awful downfall and ruin. So great a man he seems to me, that thinking of him is like thinking of an empire falling. We have other great names to mention — none I think, however, so great or so gloomy.

CONGREVE AND ADDISON

A great number of years ago, before the passing of the Reform Bill, there existed at Cambridge a certain debating club, called the "Union"; and I remember that there was a tradition amongst the undergraduates who frequented that renowned school of oratory, that the great leaders of the Opposition and Government had their eyes upon the University Debating Club, and that if a man distinguished himself there he ran some chance of being returned to Parliament as a great nobleman's nominee. So Jones of John's, or Thomson of Trinity, would rise in their might, and draping themselves in their gowns, rally round the monarchy, or hurl defiance at priests and kings, with the majesty of Pitt or the fire of Mirabeau, fancying all the while that the great nobleman's emissary was listening to the debate from the back benches, where he was sitting with the family seat in his pocket. Indeed, the legend said that one or two young Cambridge men, orators of the "Union," were actually caught up thence, and carried down to Cornwall or Old Sarum, and so into Parliament. And many a young fellow deserted the jogtrot University curriculum, to hang on in the dust behind the fervid wheels of the parliamentary chariot.

Where, I have often wondered, were the sons of Peers and Members of Parliament in Anne's and George's time? Were they all in the army, or hunting in the country, or boxing the watch? How was it that the young gentlemen from the University got such a prodigious number of places? A lad composed a neat copy of verses at Christchurch or Trinity,

in which the death of a great personage was bemoaned, the French King assailed, the Dutch or Prince Eugene complimented, or the reverse; and the party in power was presently to provide for the young poet; and a commissionership, or a post in the Stamps, or the secretaryship of an Embassy, or a clerkship in the Treasury, came into the bard's possession. A wonderful fruit-bearing rod was that of Busby's. What have men of letters got in *our* time? Think, not only of Swift, a king fit to rule in any time or empire — but Addison, Steele, Prior, Tickell, Congreve, John Gay, John Dennis, and many others, who got public employment, and pretty little pickings out of the public purse.* The wits of whose names we shall treat in this lecture and two following, all (save one) touched the king's coin, and had, at some period of their lives, a happy quarter day coming round for them.

They all began at school or college in the regular way, producing panegyrics upon public characters, what were called

* The following is a *conspectus* of them:

Addison. — Commissioner of Appeals; Undersecretary of State; Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Keeper of the Records in Ireland; Lord of Trade; and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, successively.

Steele. — Commissioner of the Stamp Office; Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court; and Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians; Commissioner of "Forfeited Estates in Scotland."

Prior. — Secretary to the Embassy at the Hague; Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King William; Secretary to the Embassy in France; Undersecretary of State; Ambassador to France.

Tickell. — Undersecretary of State; Secretary to the Lords Justices of Ireland.

Congreve. — Commissioner for licensing Hackney Coaches; Commissioner for Wine Licenses; place in the Pipe Office; post in the Custom House; Secretary of Jamaica.

Gay. — Secretary to the Earl of Clarendon (when Ambassador to Hanover).

John Dennis. — A place in the Custom House.

"En Angleterre . . . les lettres sont plus en honneur qu'ici." — Voltaire. *Lettres sur les Anglais*. Lettre XX.

odes upon public events, battles, sieges, Court marriages and deaths, in which the gods of Olympus and the tragic muse were fatigued with invocations, according to the fashion of the time in France and in England. "Aid us, Mars, Bacchus, Apollo," cried Addison, or Congreve, singing of William or Marlborough. "Accourez, chastes nymphes du Permesse," says Boileau, celebrating the Grand Monarch. "Des sons que ma lyre enfante ces arbres sont réjouis; marquez-en bien la cadence; et vous, vents, faites silence! je vais parler de Louis!" Schoolboys' themes and foundation exercises are the only relics left now of this scholastic fashion. The Olympians are left quite undisturbed in their mountain. What man of note, what contributor to the poetry of a country newspaper, would now think of writing a congratulatory ode on the birth of the heir to a dukedom, or the marriage of a nobleman? In the past century the young gentlemen of the Universities all exercised themselves at these queer compositions; and some got fame, and some gained patrons and places for life, and many more took nothing by these efforts of what they were pleased to call their muses.

William Congreve's* Pindaric Odes are still to be found in "Johnson's Poets," that now unfrequented poets'-corner, in which so many forgotten bigwigs have a niche; but though he was also voted to be one of the greatest tragic poets of any day, it was Congreve's wit and humor which first recommended him to courtly fortune. And it is recorded that his first play, the "Old Bachelor," brought our author to the notice of that great patron of English muses, Charles Montague, Lord Halifax — who, being desirous to place so eminent a wit in a state of ease and tranquillity, instantly made him one of the Commissioners for licensing hackney coaches,

* He was the son of Colonel William Congreve, and grandson of Richard Congreve, Esquire, of Congreve and Stretton in Staffordshire — a very ancient family.

bestowed on him soon after a place in the Pipe Office, and likewise a post in the Custom House of the value of £600.*

A commissionership of hackney coaches — a post in the Custom House — a place in the Pipe Office, and all for writing a comedy! Doesn't it sound like a fable, that place in the Pipe Office?† "Ah, l'heureux temps que celui de ces fables!" Men of letters there still be: but I doubt whether any Pipe Offices are left. The public has smoked them long ago.

Words, like men, pass current for a while with the public, and, being known everywhere abroad, at length take their places in society; so even the most secluded and refined ladies here present will have heard the phrase from their sons or brothers at school, and will permit me to call William Congreve, Esquire, the most eminent literary "swell" of his age. In my copy of "Johnson's Lives" Congreve's wig is the tallest, and put on with the jauntiest air of all the laureled worthies. "I am the great Mr. Congreve," he seems to say, looking out from his voluminous curls. People called him the great Mr. Congreve.‡ From the beginning of his career until the

* The *Old Bachelor* was produced January 1693. Congreve was made Commissioner of Hackney Coaches in 1695.

† "PIPE. — *Pipa*, in law, is a roll in the Exchequer, called also the *great roll*.

"*Pipe Office* is an office in which a person called the *Clerk of the Pipe* makes out leases of Crown lands, by warrant from the Lord Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury, or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Clerk of the Pipe makes up all accounts of sheriffs, &c." — REES: *Cyclopæd.* Art. PIPE.

"*Pipe Office*. — Spelman thinks so called, because the papers were kept in a large *pipe* or cask.

"'These be at last brought into that office of her Majesty's Exchequer, which we, by a metaphor, do call the *pipe* . . . because the whole receipt is finally conveyed into it by means of divers small *pipes* or quills.' — BACON: *The Office of Alienations*."

[We are indebted to Richardson's *Dictionary* for this fragment of erudition. But a modern man of letters can know little on these points — by experience.]

‡ "It has been observed that no change of Ministers affected him in the least; nor was he ever removed from any post that was given to him, except to a better. His place in the Custom House, and his office of Secretary in

end everybody admired him. Having got his education in Ireland, at the same school and college with Swift, he came to live in the Middle Temple, London, where he luckily bestowed no attention to the law; but splendidly frequented the coffeehouses and theaters, and appeared in the side box, the tavern, the Piazza, and the Mall, brilliant, beautiful, and victorious from the first. Everybody acknowledged the young chieftain. The great Mr. Dryden* declared that he was equal to Shakespeare, and bequeathed to him his own undisputed poetical crown, and writes of him: "Mr. Congreve has done me the favor to review the 'Æneis' and compare my version with the original. I shall never be ashamed to own that this

Jamaica, are said to have brought him in upwards of twelve hundred a year." — *Biog. Brit.* Art. CONGREVE.

* Dryden addressed his "twelfth epistle" to "My dear friend, Mr. Congreve," on his comedy called the *Double Dealer*, in which he says: —

> "Great Jonson did by strength of judgment please;
> Yet, doubling Fletcher's force, he wants his ease.
> In differing talents both adorned their age:
> One for the study, t'other for the stage.
> But both to Congreve justly shall submit,
> One match'd in judgment, both o'ermatched in wit.
> In him all beauties of this age we see," &c. &c.

The *Double Dealer*, however, was not so palpable a hit as the *Old Bachelor*, but, at first, met with opposition. The critics having fallen foul of it, our "Swell" applied the scourge to that presumptuous body, in the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the "Right Honorable Charles Montague."

"I was conscious," said he, "where a true critic might have put me upon my defense. I was prepared for the attack . . . but I have not heard anything said sufficient to provoke an answer."

He goes on —

"But there is one thing at which I am more concerned than all the false criticisms that are made upon me; and that is, some of the ladies are offended. I am heartily sorry for it; for I declare, I would rather disoblige all the critics in the world than one of the fair sex. They are concerned that I have represented some women vicious and affected. How can I help it? It is the business of a comic poet to paint the vices and follies of human kind. . . . I should be very glad of an opportunity to make my compliments to those ladies who are offended. But they can no more expect it in a comedy, than *to be tickled by a surgeon when he is letting their blood.*"

excellent young man has showed me many faults which I have endeavored to correct."

The "excellent young man" was but three or four and twenty when the great Dryden thus spoke of him: the greatest literary chief in England, the veteran field marshal of letters, himself the marked man of all Europe, and the center of a school of wits who daily gathered round his chair and tobacco pipe at Will's. Pope dedicated his "Iliad" to him;* Swift, Addison, Steele, all acknowledge Congreve's rank, and lavish compliments upon him. Voltaire went to wait upon him as on one of the Representatives of Literature; and the man who scarce praises any other living person — who flung abuse at Pope, and Swift, and Steele, and Addison — the Grub Street Timon, old John Dennis,† was hat in hand to Mr. Congreve; and said that when he retired from the stage, Comedy went with him.

Nor was he less victorious elsewhere. He was admired in the drawing-rooms as well as the coffeehouses; as much beloved in the side-box as on the stage. He loved, and conquered, and jilted the beautiful Bracegirdle,‡ the heroine of

* "Instead of endeavoring to raise a vain monument to myself, let me leave behind me a memorial of my friendship with one of the most valuable men as well as finest writers of my age and country — one who has tried, and knows by his own experience, how hard an undertaking it is to do justice to Homer — and one who, I am sure, seriously rejoices with me at the period of my labors. To him, therefore, having brought this long work to a conclusion, I desire to dedicate it, and to have the honor and satisfaction of placing together in this manner the names of Mr. Congreve and of — A. Pope." — *Postscript to Translation of the Iliad of Homer*, March 25, 1720.

† "When asked why he listened to the praises of Dennis, he said he had much rather be flattered than abused. Swift had a particular friendship for our author, and generously took him under his protection in his high authoritative manner." — Thos. Davies. *Dramatic Miscellanies.*

‡ "Congreve was very intimate for years with Mrs. Bracegirdle, and lived in the same street, his house very near hers, until his acquaintance with the young Duchess of Marlborough. He then quitted that house. The Duchess showed me a diamond necklace (which Lady Di used afterwards to wear) that cost seven thousand pounds, and was purchased with the money Congreve left

all his plays, the favorite of all the town of her day; and the Duchess of Marlborough, Marlborough's daughter, had such an admiration of him, that when he died she had an ivory figure made to imitate him,* and a large wax doll with gouty feet to be dressed just as the great Congreve's gouty feet were dressed in his great lifetime. He saved some money by his Pipe office, and his Custom House office, and his Hackney Coach office, and nobly left it, not to Bracegirdle,† who wanted it, but to the Duchess of Marlborough, who didn't.‡

How can I introduce to you that merry and shameless Comic Muse who won him such a reputation? Nell Gwynn's servant fought the other footman for having called his mistress a bad name; and in like manner, and with pretty little epithets, Jeremy Collier attacked that godless reckless Jezebel, the English comedy of his time, and called her what Nell Gwynn's

her. How much better would it have been to have given it to poor Mrs. Bracegirdle." — Dr. YOUNG. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

* "A glass was put in the hand of the statue, which was supposed to bow to her Grace and to nod in approbation of what she spoke to it." — THOS. DAVIES. *Dramatic Miscellanies.*

† The sum Congreve left Mrs. Bracegirdle was £200, as is said in the *Dramatic Miscellanies* of Tom Davies; where are some particulars about this charming actress and beautiful woman.

She had a "lively aspect," says Tom, on the authority of Cibber, and "such a glow of health and cheerfulness in her countenance, as inspired everybody with desire." "Scarce an audience saw her that were not half of them her lovers."

Congreve and Rowe courted her in the persons of their lovers. "In Tamerlane, Rowe courted her Selima, in the person of Axalla . . .; Congreve insinuated his addresses in his Valentine to her Angelica, in *Love for Love;* in his Osmyn to her Almena, in the *Mourning Bride;* and, lastly, in his Mirabel to her Millamant, in the *Way of the World.* Mirabel, the fine gentleman of the play, is, I believe, not very distant from the real character of Congreve." — *Dramatic Miscellanies,* vol. iii. 1784.

She retired from the stage when Mrs. Oldfield began to be the public favorite. She died in 1748, in the eighty-fifth year of her age.

‡ Johnson calls his legacy the "accumulation of attentive parsimony, which," he continues, "though to her (the Duchess) superfluous and useless, might have given great assistance to the ancient family from which he descended, at that time, by the imprudence of his relation, reduced to difficulties and distress." — *Lives of the Poets.*

man's fellow-servants called Nell Gwynn's man's mistress. The servants of the theater, Dryden, Congreve,* and others, defended themselves with the same success, and for the same cause which set Nell's lackey fighting. She was a disreputable, daring, laughing, painted French baggage, that Comic Muse. She came over from the Continent with Charles (who chose many more of his female friends there) at the Restoration — a wild dishevelled Laïs, with eyes bright with wit and wine — a saucy Court favorite that sat at the King's knees, and laughed in his face, and when she showed her bold cheeks at her chariot window, had some of the noblest and most famous people of the land bowing round her wheel. She was kind and popular enough, that daring Comedy, that audacious poor Nell: she was gay and generous, kind, frank, as such people can afford to be: and the men who lived with her and laughed with her, took her pay and drank her wine, turned out, when the Puritans hooted her, to fight and defend her. But the jade was indefensible, and it is pretty certain her servants knew it.

There is life and death going on in everything: truth and lies always at battle. Pleasure is always warring against self-

* He replied to Collier, in the pamphlet called *Amendments of Mr. Collier's False and Imperfect Citations*, &c. A specimen or two are subjoined: —

"The greater part of these examples which he has produced are only demonstrations of his own impurity: they only savor of his utterance, and were sweet enough till tainted by his breath.

"Where the expression is unblamable in its own pure and genuine signification, he enters into it, himself, like the evil spirit; he possesses the innocent phrase, and makes it bellow forth his own blasphemies.

"If I do not return him civilities in calling him names, it is because I am not very well versed in his nomenclatures. . . . I will only call him Mr. Collier, and that I will call him as often as I think he shall deserve it.

"The corruption of a rotten divine is the generation of a sour critic."

"Congreve," says Doctor Johnson, "a very young man, elated with success, and impatient of censure, assumed an air of confidence and security. . . . The dispute was protracted through ten years; but at last comedy grew more modest, and Collier lived to see the reward of his labors in the reformation of the theater." — *Life of Congreve.*

restraint. Doubt is always crying Psha! and sneering. A man in life, a humorist, in writing about life, sways over to one principle or the other, and laughs with the reverence for right and the love of truth in his heart, or laughs at these from the other side. Didn't I tell you that dancing was a serious business to Harlequin? I have read two or three of Congreve's plays over before speaking of him; and my feelings were rather like those, which I dare say most of us here have had, at Pompeii, looking at Sallust's house and the relics of an orgy; a dried wine jar or two, a charred supper table, the breast of a dancing girl pressed against the ashes, the laughing skull of a jester: a perfect stillness round about, as the cicerone twangs his moral, and the blue sky shines calmly over the ruin. The Congreve Muse is dead, and her song choked in Time's ashes. We gaze at the skeleton, and wonder at the life which once revelled in its mad veins. We take the skull up, and muse over the frolic and daring, the wit, scorn, passion, hope, desire, with which that empty bowl once fermented. We think of the glances that allured, the tears that melted, of the bright eyes that shone in those vacant sockets; and of lips whispering love, and cheeks dimpling with smiles, that once covered yon ghastly yellow framework. They used to call those teeth pearls once. See, there's the cup she drank from, the gold chain she wore on her neck, the vase which held the rouge for her cheeks, her looking-glass, and the harp she used to dance to. Instead of a feast we find a gravestone, and in place of a mistress, a few bones!

Reading in these plays now, is like shutting your ears and looking at people dancing. What does it mean? the measures, the grimaces, the bowing, shuffling, and retreating, the *cavalier seul* advancing upon those ladies — those ladies and men twirling round at the end in a mad galop, after which everybody bows and the quaint rite is celebrated. Without

the music we can't understand that comic dance of the last century — its strange gravity and gayety, its decorum or its indecorum. It has a jargon of its own quite unlike life; a sort of moral of its own quite unlike life too. I'm afraid it's a Heathen mystery, symbolizing a Pagan doctrine; protesting — as the Pompeians very likely were, assembled at their theater and laughing at their games; as Sallust and his friends, and their mistresses protested, crowned with flowers, with cups in their hands — against the new, hard, ascetic, pleasure-hating doctrine whose gaunt disciples, lately passed over from the Asian shores of the Mediterranean, were for breaking the fair images of Venus and flinging the altars of Bacchus down.

I fancy poor Congreve's theater is a temple of Pagan delights, and mysteries not permitted except among heathens. I fear the theater carries down that ancient tradition and worship, as masons have carried their secret signs and rites from temple to temple. When the libertine hero carries off the beauty in the play, and the dotard is laughed to scorn for having the young wife: in the ballad, when the poet bids his mistress to gather roses while she may, and warns her that old Time is still a-flying: in the ballet, when honest Corydon courts Phillis under the treillage of the pasteboard cottage, and leers at her over the head of grandpapa in red stockings, who is opportunely asleep; and when seduced by the invitations of the rosy youth she comes forward to the footlights, and they perform on each other's tiptoes that *pas* which you all know, and which is only interrupted by old grandpapa awaking from his doze at the pasteboard châlet (whither he returns to take another nap in case the young people get an encore): when Harlequin, splendid in youth, strength, and agility, arrayed in gold and a thousand colors, springs over the heads of countless perils, leaps down the throat of bewildered giants, and, dauntless and splendid, dances danger down: when

Mr. Punch, that godless old rebel, breaks every law and laughs at it with odious triumph, outwits his lawyer, bullies the beadle, knocks his wife about the head, and hangs the hangman, — don't you see in the comedy, in the song, in the dance, in the ragged little Punch's puppet-show — the Pagan protest? Doesn't it seem as if Life puts in its plea and sings its comment? Look how the lovers walk and hold each other's hands and whisper! Sings the chorus — "There is nothing like love, there is nothing like youth, there is nothing like beauty of your springtime. Look! how old age tries to meddle with merry sport! Beat him with his own crutch, the wrinkled old dotard! There is nothing like youth, there is nothing like beauty, there is nothing like strength. Strength and valor win beauty and youth. Be brave and conquer. Be young and happy. Enjoy, enjoy, enjoy! Would you know the *Segreto per esser felice?* Here it is, in a smiling mistress and a cup of Falernian." As the boy tosses the cup and sings his song — hark! what is that chant coming nearer and nearer? What is that dirge which *will* disturb us? The lights of the festival burn dim — the cheeks turn pale — the voice quavers — and the cup drops on the floor. Who's there? Death and Fate are at the gate, and they *will* come in.

Congreve's comic feast flares with lights, and round the table, emptying their flaming bowls of drink, and exchanging the wildest jests and ribaldry, sit men and women, waited on by rascally valets and attendants as dissolute as their mistresses — perhaps the very worst company in the world. There doesn't seem to be a pretense of morals. At the head of the table sits Mirabel or Belmour (dressed in the French fashion and waited on by English imitators of Scapin and Frontin). Their calling is to be irresistible, and to conquer everywhere. Like the heroes of the chivalry story, whose long-winded loves and combats they were sending out of

fashion, they are always splendid and triumphant — overcome all dangers, vanquish all enemies, and win the beauty at the end. Fathers, husbands, usurers, are the foes these champions contend with. They are merciless in old age, invariably, and an old man plays the part in the dramas which the wicked enchanter or the great blundering giant performs in the chivalry tales, who threatens and grumbles and resists — a huge stupid obstacle always overcome by the knight. It is an old man with a money box: Sir Belmour his son or nephew spends his money and laughs at him. It is an old man with a young wife whom he locks up: Sir Mirabel robs him of his wife, trips up his gouty old heels and leaves the old hunks. The old fool, what business has he to hoard his money, or to lock up blushing eighteen? Money is for youth, love is for youth, away with the old people. When Millamant is sixty, having of course divorced the first Lady Millamant, and married his friend Doricourt's granddaughter out of the nursery — it will be his turn; and young Belmour will make a fool of him. All this pretty morality you have in the comedies of William Congreve, Esquire. They are full of wit. Such manners as he observes, he observes with great humor; but ah! it's a weary feast, that banquet of wit where no love is. It palls very soon; sad indigestions follow it and lonely blank headaches in the morning.

I can't pretend to quote scenes from the splendid Congreve's plays* — which are undeniably bright, witty, and daring —

* The scene of Valentine's pretended madness in *Love for Love* is a splendid specimen of Congreve's daring manner: —

"*Scandal.* And have you given your master a hint of their plot upon him?

"*Jeremy.* Yes, sir; he says he'll favor it, and mistake her for *Angelica*.

"*Scandal.* It may make us sport.

"*Foresight.* Mercy on us!

"*Valentine.* Husht — interrupt me not — I'll whisper predictions to thee, and thou shalt prophesie; — I am truth, and can teach thy tongue a new trick, — I have told thee what's passed — now I'll tell what's to come: — Dost thou know what will happen to-morrow? Answer me not — for I will tell thee.

any more than I could ask you to hear the dialogue of a witty bargeman and a brilliant fishwoman exchanging compliments at Billingsgate; but some of his verses — they were amongst the most famous lyrics of the time, and pronounced equal to

To-morrow knaves will thrive thro' craft, and fools thro' fortune: and honesty will go as it did, frost-nipt in a summer suit. Ask me questions concerning to-morrow.

"*Scandal.* Ask him, *Mr. Foresight.*

"*Foresight.* Pray what will be done at Court?

"*Valentine. Scandal* will tell you; — I am truth, I never come there.

"*Foresight.* In the city?

"*Valentine.* Oh, prayers will be said in empty churches at the usual hours. Yet you will see such zealous faces behind counters as if religion were to be sold in every shop. Oh, things will go methodically in the city, the clocks will strike twelve at noon, and the horn'd herd buzz in the Exchange at two. Husbands and wives will drive distinct trades, and care and pleasure separately occupy the family. Coffeehouses will be full of smoke and stratagem. And the cropt 'prentice that sweeps his master's shop in the morning, may, ten to one, dirty his sheets before night. But there are two things, that you will see very strange; which are, wanton wives with their legs at liberty, and tame cuckolds with chains about their necks. But hold, I must examine you before I go further; you look suspiciously. Are you a husband?

"*Foresight.* I am married.

"*Valentine.* Poor creature! Is your wife of Covent-garden *Parish?*

"*Foresight.* No; St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

"*Valentine.* Alas, poor man! his eyes are sunk, and his hands shrivelled; his legs dwindled, and his back bow'd. Pray, pray for a metamorphosis — change thy shape, and shake off age; get thee *Medea's* kettle and be boiled anew; come forth with lab'ring callous hands, and chine of steel, and *Atlas'* shoulders. Let Taliacotius trim the calves of twenty chairmen, and make thee pedestals to stand erect upon, and look matrimony in the face. Ha, ha, ha! That a man should have a stomach to a wedding supper, when the pigeons ought rather to be laid to his feet! Ha, ha, ha!

"*Foresight.* His frenzy is very high, now, *Mr. Scandal.*

"*Scandal.* I believe it is a spring-tide.

"*Foresight.* Very likely — truly; you understand these matters. *Mr. Scandal,* I shall be very glad to confer with you about these things he has uttered. His sayings are very mysterious and hieroglyphical.

"*Valentine.* Oh! why would *Angelica* be absent from my eyes so long?

"*Jeremy.* She's here, sir.

"*Mrs. Foresight.* Now, sister!

"*Mrs. Frail.* O Lord! what must I say?

"*Scandal.* Humor him, madam, by all means.

"*Valentine.* Where is she? Oh! I see her: she comes, like Riches, Health,

Horace by his contemporaries — may give an idea of his power, of his grace, of his daring manner, his magnificence in compliment, and his polished sarcasm. He writes as if he was so

and Liberty at once, to a despairing, starving, and abandoned wretch. Oh — welcome, welcome!

"*Mrs. Frail.* How d'ye, sir? Can I serve you?

"*Valentine.* Hark'ee — I have a secret to tell you. *Endymion* and the moon shall meet us on *Mount Latmos*, and we'll be married in the dead of night. But say not a word. *Hymen* shall put his torch into a dark lanthorn, that it may be secret; and Juno shall give her peacock poppy-water, that he may fold his ogling tail; and Argus's hundred eyes be shut — ha! Nobody shall know, but *Jeremy*.

"*Mrs. Frail.* No, no; we'll keep it secret; it shall be done presently.

"*Valentine.* The sooner the better. *Jeremy*, come hither — closer — that none may overhear us. *Jeremy*, I can tell you news: *Angelica* is turned nun, and I am turning friar, and yet we'll marry one another in spite of the Pope. Get me a cowl and beads, that I may play my part; for she'll meet me two hours hence in black and white, and a long veil to cover the project, and we won't see one another's faces 'till we have done something to be ashamed of, and then we'll blush once for all. . . .

"*Enter* TATTLE

"*Tattle.* Do you know me, *Valentine?*

"*Valentine.* You! — who are you? No, I hope not.

"*Tattle.* I am *Jack Tattle*, your friend.

"*Valentine.* My friend! What to do? I am no married man, and thou canst not lye with my wife; I am very poor, and thou canst not borrow money of me. Then, what employment have I for a friend?

"*Tattle.* Hah! A good open speaker, and not to be trusted with a secret.

"*Angelica.* Do you know me, *Valentine?*

"*Valentine.* Oh, very well.

"*Angelica.* Who am I?

"*Valentine.* You're a woman, one to whom Heaven gave beauty when it grafted roses on a brier. You are the reflection of Heaven in a pond; and he that leaps at you is sunk. You are all white — a sheet of spotless paper — when you first are born; but you are to be scrawled and blotted by every goose's quill. I know you; for I loved a woman, and loved her so long that I found out a strange thing: I found out what a woman was good for.

"*Tattle.* Ay! pr'ythee, what's that?

"*Valentine.* Why, to keep a secret.

"*Tattle.* O Lord!

"*Valentine.* Oh, exceeding good to keep a secret; for, though she should tell, yet she is not to be believed.

"*Tattle.* Hah! Good again, faith.

accustomed to conquer, that he has a poor opinion of his victims. Nothing's new except their faces, says he: "every woman is the same." He says this in his first comedy, which

"*Valentine.* I would have musick. Sing me the song that I like." — CONGREVE: *Love for Love.*

There is a *Mrs. Nickleby,* of the year 1700, in Congreve's comedy of the *Double Dealer,* in whose character the author introduces some wonderful traits of roguish satire. She is practiced on by the gallants of the play, and no more knows how to resist them than any of the ladies above quoted could resist Congreve.

"*Lady Plyant.* Oh! reflect upon the horror of your conduct! Offering to pervert me" [the joke is that the gentleman is pressing the lady for her daughter's hand, not for her own] — "perverting me from the road of virtue, in which I have trod thus long, and never made one trip — not one *faux pas.* Oh, consider it: what would you have to answer for, if you should provoke me to frailty! Alas! humanity is feeble, Heaven knows! Very feeble, and unable to support itself.

"*Mellefont.* Where am I? Is it day? and am I awake? Madam ——

"*Lady Plyant.* O Lord, ask me the question! I swear I'll deny it — therefore don't ask me; nay, you shan't ask me, I swear I'll deny it. O Gemini, you have brought all the blood into my face; I warrant I am as red as a turkey-cock. O fie, cousin Mellefont!

"*Mellefont.* Nay, madam, hear me; I mean ——

"*Lady Plyant.* Hear you? No, no; I'll deny you first, and hear you afterwards. For one does not know how one's mind may change upon hearing — hearing is one of the senses and all the senses are fallible. I won't trust my honor, I assure you; my honor is infallible and uncomatable.

"*Mellefont.* For Heaven's sake, madam ——

"*Lady Plyant.* Oh, name it no more. Bless me, how can you talk of Heaven, and have so much wickedness in your heart? May be, you don't think it a sin. They say some of you gentlemen don't think it a sin; but still, my honor, if it were no sin —— But, then, to marry my daughter for the convenience of frequent opportunities — I'll never consent to that: as sure as can be, I'll break the match.

"*Mellefont.* Death and amazement! Madam, upon my knees ——

"*Lady Plyant.* Nay, nay, rise up! come, you shall see my good-nature. I know love is powerful, and nobody can help his passion. 'Tis not your fault; nor I swear, it is not mine. How can I help it, if I have charms? And how can you help it, if you are made a captive? I swear it is pity it should be a fault; but, my honor. Well, but your honor, too — but the sin! Well, but the necessity. O Lord, here's somebody coming. I dare not stay. Well, you must consider of your crime: and strive as much as can be against it — strive, be sure; but don't be melancholick — don't despair; but never think that I'll grant you anything. O Lord, no; but be sure you lay aside all thoughts of the mar-

he wrote languidly* in illness, when he was an "excellent young man." Richelieu at eighty could have hardly said a more excellent thing.

When he advances to make one of his conquests, it is with a splendid gallantry, in full uniform, and with the fiddles playing, like Grammont's French dandies attacking the breach of Lerida.

"Cease, cease to ask her name," he writes of a young lady at the Wells of Tunbridge, whom he salutes with a magnificent compliment —

> "Cease, cease to ask her name,
> The crowned Muse's noblest theme,
> Whose glory by immortal fame
> Shall only sounded be.
> But if you long to know,
> Then look round yonder dazzling row;
> Who most does like an angel show,
> You may be sure 'tis she."

Here are lines about another beauty, who perhaps was not so well pleased at the poet's manner of celebrating her —

> "When Lesbia first I saw, so heavenly fair,
> With eyes so bright and with that awful air,
> I thought my heart which durst so high aspire
> As bold as his who snatched celestial fire.
>
> "But soon as e'er the beauteous idiot spoke,
> Forth from her coral lips such folly broke:
> Like balm the trickling nonsense heal'd my wound,
> And what her eyes enthralled, her tongue unbound."

riage, for though I know you don't love Cynthia, only as a blind to your passion for me — yet it will make me jealous. O Lord, what did I say? Jealous! No, no, I can't be jealous; for I must not love you. Therefore don't hope; but don't despair neither. Oh, they're coming; I *must* fly." — *The Double Dealer*, act ii. sc. v. page 156.

* "There seems to be a strange affectation in authors of appearing to have done everything by chance. The *Old Bachelor* was written for amusement in the languor of convalescence. Yet it is apparently composed with great elaborateness of dialogue and incessant ambition of wit." — JOHNSON. *Lives of the Poets.*

Amoret is a cleverer woman than the lovely Lesbia, but the poet does not seem to respect one much more than the other; and describes both with exquisite satirical humor —

"Fair Amoret is gone astray:
Pursue and seek her, every lover.
I'll tell the signs by which you may
The wandering shepherdess discover.

"Coquet and coy at once her air,
Both studied, though both seem neglected;
Careless she is with artful care,
Affecting to seem unaffected.

"With skill her eyes dart every glance,
Yet change so soon you'd ne'er suspect them;
For she'd persuade they wound by chance,
Though certain aim and art direct them.

"She likes herself, yet others hates,
For that which in herself she prizes;
And, while she laughs at them, forgets
She is the thing that she despises."

What could Amoret have done to bring down such shafts of ridicule upon her? Could she have resisted the irresistible Mr. Congreve? Could anybody? Could Sabina, when she woke and heard such a bard singing under her window? "See," he writes —

"See! see, she wakes — Sabina wakes!
And now the sun begins to rise.
Less glorious is the morn, that breaks
From his bright beams, than her fair eyes.
With light united, day they give;
But different fates ere night fulfill:
How many by his warmth will live!
How many will her coldness kill!"

Are you melted? Don't you think him a divine man? If not touched by the brilliant Sabina, hear the devout Selinda: —

"Pious Selinda goes to prayers,
If I but ask the favor;
And yet the tender fool's in tears,
When she believes I'll leave her:
Would I were free from this restraint,
Or else had hopes to win her:
Would she could make of me a saint,
Or I of her a sinner!"

What a conquering air there is about these! What an irresistible Mr. Congreve it is! Sinner! of course he will be a sinner, the delightful rascal! Win her! of course he will win her, the victorious rogue! He knows he will: he must — with such a grace, with such a fashion, with such a splendid embroidered suit. You see him with red-heeled shoes deliciously turned out, passing a fair jeweled hand through his disheveled periwig, and delivering a killing ogle alone with his scented billet. And Sabina? What a comparison that is between the nymph and the sun! The sun gives Sabina the *pas*, and does not venture to rise before her ladyship: the morn's *bright beams* are less glorious than her *fair eyes;* but before night everybody will be frozen by her glances: everybody but one lucky rogue who shall be nameless. Louis Quatorze in all his glory is hardly more splendid than our Phœbus Apollo of the Mall and Spring Gardens.*

When Voltaire came to visit the great Congreve, the latter rather affected to despise his literary reputation, and in this perhaps the great Congreve was not far wrong.† A touch of

* "Among those by whom it ('Will's') was frequented, Southerne and Congreve were principally distinguished by Dryden's friendship. . . . But Congreve seems to have gained yet farther than Southerne upon Dryden's friendship. He was introduced to him by his first play, the celebrated *Old Bachelor* being put into the poet's hands to be revised. Dryden, after making a few alterations to fit it for the stage, returned it to the author with the high and just commendation, that it was the best first play he had ever seen." — SCOTT's *Dryden*, vol. i. p. 370.

† It was in Surrey Street, Strand (where he afterwards died), that Voltaire visited him, in the decline of his life.

Steele's tenderness is worth all his finery; a flash of Swift's lightning, a beam of Addison's pure sunshine, and his tawdry playhouse taper is invisible. But the ladies loved him, and he was undoubtedly a pretty fellow.*

The anecdote relating to his saying that he wished "to be visited on no other footing than as a gentleman who led a life of plainness and simplicity," is common to all writers on the subject of Congreve, and appears in the English version of Voltaire's *Letters concerning the English Nation*, published in London, 1733, as also in Goldsmith's *Memoir of Voltaire*. But it is worthy of remark, that it does not appear in the text of the same Letters in the edition of Voltaire's *Œuvres Complètes* in the "Panthéon Littéraire." Vol. v. of his works. (Paris, 1837.)

"Celui de tous les Anglais qui a porté le plus loin la gloire du théâtre comique est feu M. Congreve. Il n'a fait que peu de pièces, mais toutes sont excellentes dans leur genre. . . . Vous y voyez partout le langage des honnêtes gens avec des actions de fripon; ce qui prouve qu'il connaissait bien son monde, et qu'il vivait dans ce qu'on appelle la bonne compagnie." — VOLTAIRE. *Lettres sur les Anglais*. Lettre XIX.

* On the death of Queen Mary he published a Pastoral — *The Mourning Muse of Alexis*. Alexis and Menalcas sing alternately in the orthodox way. The Queen is called PASTORA.

> "I mourn PASTORA dead, let Albion mourn,
> And sable clouds her chalky cliffs adorn,"

says Alexis. Among other phenomena, we learn that —

> "With their sharp nails themselves the Satyrs wound,
> And tug their shaggy beards, and bite with grief the ground" —

(a degree of sensibility not always found in the Satyrs of that period). . . . It continues —

> "Lord of these woods and wide extended plains,
> Stretch'd on the ground and close to earth his face
> Scalding with tears the already faded grass.
> . . . . . .
> To dust must all that Heavenly beauty come?
> And must Pastora molder in the tomb?
> Ah Death! more fierce and unrelenting far
> Than wildest wolves or savage tigers are!
> With lambs and sheep their hungers are appeased,
> But ravenous Death the shepherdess has seized."

This statement that a wolf eats but a sheep, whilst Death eats a shepherdess — that figure of the "Great Shepherd" lying speechless on his stomach, in a state of despair which neither winds nor floods nor air can exhibit — are to be remem-

We have seen in Swift a humorous philosopher, whose truth frightens one, and whose laughter makes one melan-

bered in poetry surely; and this style was admired in its time by the admirers of the great Congreve!

In the *Tears of Amaryllis for Amyntas* (the young Lord Blandford, the great Duke of Marlborough's only son), Amaryllis represents Sarah Duchess!

The tigers and wolves, nature and motion, rivers and echoes, come into work here again. At the sight of her grief —

> "Tigers and wolves their wonted rage forego,
> And dumb distress and new compassion show,
> Nature herself attentive silence kept,
> *And motion seemed suspended while she wept!*"

And Pope dedicated the *Iliad* to the author of these lines — and Dryden wrote to him in his great hand: —

> "Time, place, and action may with pains be wrought,
> But Genius must be born and never can be taught.
> This is your portion, this your native store;
> Heaven, that but once was prodigal before,
> To SHAKESPEARE gave as much, she could not give him more.
> Maintain your Post: that's all the fame you need,
> For 'tis impossible you should proceed;
> Already I am worn with cares and age,
> And just abandoning th' ungrateful stage:
> Unprofitably kept at Heaven's expense,
> I live a Rent-charge upon Providence:
> But you, whom every Muse and Grace adorn,
> Whom I foresee to better fortune born,
> Be kind to my remains, and oh! defend
> Against your Judgment your departed Friend!
> Let not the insulting Foe my Fame pursue;
> But shade those Lawrels which descend to You:
> And take for Tribute what these Lines express;
> You merit more, nor could my Love do less."

This is a very different manner of welcome to that of our own day. In Shadwell, Higgons, Congreve, and the comic authors of their time, when gentlemen meet they fall into each other's arms, with "Jack, Jack, I must buss thee;" or, "Fore George, Harry, I must kiss thee, lad." And in a similar manner the poets saluted their brethren. Literary gentlemen do not kiss now; I wonder if they love each other better?

Steele calls Congreve "Great Sir" and "Great Author"; says "Well-dressed barbarians knew his awful name," and addresses him as if he were a prince; and speaks of *Pastora* as one of the most famous tragic compositions.

choly. We have had in Congreve a humorous observer of another school, to whom the world seems to have no morals at all, and whose ghastly doctrine seems to be that we should eat, drink, and be merry when we can, and go to the deuce (if there be a deuce) when the time comes. We come now to a humor that flows from quite a different heart and spirit — a wit that makes us laugh and leaves us good and happy; to one of the kindest benefactors that society has ever had; and I believe you have divined already that I am about to mention Addison's honored name.

From reading over his writings, and the biographies which we have of him, amongst which the famous article in the *Edinburgh Review** may be cited as a magnificent statue of the great writer and moralist of the last age, raised by the love and the marvelous skill and genius of one of the most illustrious artists of our own: looking at that calm fair face, and clear countenance — those chiselled features pure and cold, I can't but fancy that this great man — in this respect, like him of whom we spoke in the last lecture — was also one of the lonely ones of the world. Such men have very few equals, and they don't herd with those. It is in the nature of such lords of intellect to be solitary — they are in the world, but not of it; and our minor struggles, brawls, successes, pass under them.

* "To Addison himself we are bound by a sentiment as much like affection as any sentiment can be which is inspired by one who has been sleeping a hundred and twenty years in Westminster Abbey. . . . After full inquiry and impartial reflection we have long been convinced that he deserved as much love and esteem as can justly be claimed by any of our infirm and erring race." — *Macaulay.*

"Many who praise virtue do no more than praise it. Yet it is reasonable to believe that Addison's profession and practice were at no great variance; since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies. Of those with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem but the kindness; and of others, whom the violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence." — *Johnson.*

Kind, just, serene, impartial, his fortitude not tried beyond easy endurance, his affections not much used, for his books were his family, and his society was in public; admirably wiser, wittier, calmer, and more instructed than almost every man with whom he met, how could Addison suffer, desire, admire, feel much? I may expect a child to admire me for being taller or writing more cleverly than she; but how can I ask my superior to say that I am a wonder when he knows better than I? In Addison's days you could scarcely show him a literary performance, a sermon, or a poem, or a piece of literary criticism, but he felt he could do better. His justice must have made him indifferent. He didn't praise, because he measured his compeers by a higher standard than common people have.* How was he who was so tall to look up to any but the loftiest genius? He must have stooped to put himself on a level with most men. By that profusion of graciousness and smiles with which Goethe or Scott, for instance, greeted almost every literary beginner, every small literary adventurer who came to his court and went away charmed from the great king's audience, and cuddling to his heart the compliment which his literary majesty had paid him — each of the two good-natured potentates of letters brought their star and ribbon into discredit. Everybody had his majesty's orders. Everybody had his majesty's cheap portrait, on a box surrounded by diamonds worth twopence apiece. A very great and just and wise man ought not to praise indiscriminately, but give his idea of the truth. Addison praises the ingenious Mr. Pinkethman: Addison praises the ingenious Mr. Doggett, the actor, whose benefit is coming off that night: Addison praises Don Saltero: Addison praises

* "Addison was perfect good company with intimates, and had something more charming in his conversation than I ever knew in any other man; but with any mixture of strangers, and sometimes only with one, he seemed to preserve his dignity much, with a stiff sort of silence." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

Milton with all his heart, bends his knee and frankly pays homage to that imperial genius.* But between those degrees of his men his praise is very scanty. I don't think the great Mr. Addison liked young Mr. Pope, the Papist, much; I don't think he abused him. But when Mr. Addison's men abused Mr. Pope, I don't think Addison took his pipe out of his mouth to contradict them.†

Addison's father was a clergyman of good repute in Wiltshire, and rose in the Church.‡ His famous son never lost his clerical training and scholastic gravity, and was called "a parson in a tye-wig"§ in London afterwards at a time when

* "Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence, lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns, who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets, both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas than those which he has laid together in his first, second, and sixth books." — *Spectator*, No. 279.

"If I were to name a poet that is a perfect master in all these arts of working on the imagination, I think Milton may pass for one." — *Ibid.* No. 417.

These famous papers appeared in each Saturday's *Spectator*, from January 19th to May 3d, 1712. Besides his services to Milton, we may place those he did to Sacred Music.

† "Addison was very kind to me at first, but my bitter enemy afterwards." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"'Leave him as soon as you can,' said Addison to me, speaking of Pope; 'he will certainly play you some devilish trick else: he has an appetite to satire.'" — LADY WORTLEY MONTAGU. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

‡ Lancelot Addison, his father, was the son of another Lancelot Addison, a clergyman in Westmoreland. He became Dean of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Coventry.

§ "The remark of Mandeville, who, when he had passed an evening in his company, declared that he was 'a parson in a tye-wig,' can detract little from his character. He was always reserved to strangers, and was not incited to uncommon freedom by a character like that of Mandeville." — JOHNSON. *Lives of the Poets.* (Mandeville was the author of the famous *Fable of the Bees.*)

"Old Jacob Tonson did not like Mr. Addison: he had a quarrel with him, and, after his quitting the secretaryship, used frequently to say of him — 'One day or other you'll see that man a bishop — I'm sure he looks that way; and indeed I ever thought him a priest in his heart.'" — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"Mr. Addison stayed above a year at Blois. He would rise as early as be-

tiewigs were only worn by the laity, and the fathers of theology did not think it decent to appear except in a full bottom. Having been at school at Salisbury, and the Charterhouse, in 1687, when he was fifteen years old, he went to Queen's College, Oxford, where he speedily began to distinguish himself by the making of Latin verses. The beautiful and fanciful poem of "The Pygmies and the Cranes" is still read by lovers of that sort of exercise; and verses are extant in honor of King William, by which it appears that it was the loyal youth's custom to toast that sovereign in bumpers of purple Lyæus: many more works are in the Collection, including one on the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, which was so good that Montague got him a pension of £300 a year, on which Addison set out on his travels.

During his ten years at Oxford, Addison had deeply imbued himself with the Latin poetical literature, and had these poets at his fingers' ends when he travelled in Italy.* His patron went out of office, and his pension was unpaid: and hearing that this great scholar, now eminent and known to the literati of Europe (the great Boileau,† upon perusal of Mr. Addison's elegant hexameters, was first made aware that England was not altogether a barbarous nation) — hearing that the celebrated Mr. Addison, of Oxford, proposed to travel as governor to a young gentleman on the grand tour, the

tween two and three in the height of summer, and lie abed till between eleven and twelve in the depth of winter. He was untalkative whilst here, and often thoughtful: sometimes so lost in thought that I have come into his room and stayed five minutes there before he has known anything of it. He had his masters generally at supper with him; kept very little company besides; and had no amour that I know of; and I think I should have known it if he had had any." — Abbe Philippeaux of Blois. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

* "His knowledge of the Latin poets, from Lucretius and Catullus down to Claudian and Prudentius, was singularly exact and profound." — *Macaulay.*

† "Our country owes it to him, that the famous Monsieur Boileau first conceived an opinion of the English genius for poetry, by perusing the present he made him of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*." Tickell. *Preface to Addison's Works.*

great Duke of Somerset proposed to Mr. Addison to accompany his son, Lord Hertford.

Mr. Addison was delighted to be of use to his Grace, and his Lordship his Grace's son, and expressed himself ready to set forth.

His Grace the Duke of Somerset now announced to one of the most famous scholars of Oxford and Europe that it was his gracious intention to allow my Lord Hertford's tutor one hundred guineas per annum. Mr. Addison wrote back that his services were his Grace's, but he by no means found his account in the recompense for them. The negotiation was broken off. They parted with a profusion of *congées* on one side and the other.*

Addison remained abroad for some time, living in the best society of Europe. How could he do otherwise? He must have been one of the finest gentlemen the world ever saw: at all moments of life serene and courteous, cheerful and calm.† He could scarcely ever have had a degrading thought. He might have omitted a virtue or two, or many, but could not have committed many faults for which he need blush or turn pale. When warmed into confidence, his conversation appears to have been so delightful that the greatest wits sat rapt and charmed to listen to him. No man bore poverty and narrow fortune with a more lofty cheerfulness. His letters to his friends at this period of his life, when he had lost his Government pension and given up his college chances, are full of courage and a gay confidence and philosophy: and

* This proposal was made to Addison when he was in Holland, on the return from his travels. He was recommended to the Duke by the bookseller, Tonson, for whom he had undertaken a translation of Herodotus. He had as yet published nothing separately, though he was well known in Oxford, and to some of the Whig nobility.

† "It was my fate to be much with the wits; my father was acquainted with all of them. *Addison was the best company in the world.* I never knew anybody that had so much wit as Congreve." — Lady Wortley Montagu. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

they are none the worse in my eyes, and I hope not in those of his last and greatest biographer (though Mr. Macaulay is bound to own and lament a certain weakness for wine, which the great and good Joseph Addison notoriously possessed, in common with countless gentlemen of his time), because some of the letters are written when his honest hand was shaking a little in the morning after libations to purple Lyæus overnight. He was fond of drinking the healths of his friends: he writes to Wyche,* of Hamburg, gratefully remembering Wyche's "hoc." "I have been drinking your health to-day with Sir Richard Shirley," he writes to Bathurst. "I have lately had the honor to meet my Lord Effingham at Amsterdam, where we have drunk Mr. Wood's health a hundred times in excellent champagne," he writes again. Swift †

* *Mr. Addison to Mr. Wyche*

"Dear Sir, — My hand at present begins to grow steady enough for a letter, so the properest use I can put it to is to thank ye honest gentleman that set it a shaking. I have had this morning a desperate design in my head to attack you in verse, which I should certainly have done could I have found out a rhyme to rummer. But though you have escaped for ye present, you are not yet out of danger, if I can a little recover my talent at crambo. I am sure, in whatever way I write to you, it will be impossible for me to express ye deep sense I have of ye many favors you have lately shown me. I shall only tell you that Hambourg has been the pleasantest stage I have met with in my travails. If any of my friends wonder at me for living so long in that place, I dare say it will be thought a very good excuse when I tell him Mr. Wyche was there. As your company made our stay at Hambourg agreeable, your wine has given us all ye satisfaction that we have found in our journey through Westphalia. If drinking your health will do you any good, you may expect to be as long-lived as Methuselah, or, to use a more familiar instance, as ye oldest hoc in ye cellar. I hope ye two pair of legs that was left a swelling behind us are by this time come to their shapes again. I can't forbear troubling you with my hearty respects to ye owners of them, and desiring you to believe me always,

"Dear Sir,
"Yours," &c.

"To Mr. Wyche, His Majesty's Resident at
"Hambourg, May 1703"

— *From the Life of Addison, by* Miss Aikin. Vol. i. p. 146.

† It is pleasing to remember that the relation between Swift and Addison was, on the whole, satisfactory from first to last. The value of Swift's testi-

describes him over his cups, when Joseph yielded to a temptation which Jonathan resisted. Joseph was of a cold nature, and needed perhaps the fire of wine to warm his blood. If he was a parson, he wore a tiewig, recollect. A better and more Christian man scarcely ever breathed than Joseph Addison. If he had not that little weakness for wine — why, we could scarcely have found a fault with him, and could not have liked him as we do.*

At thirty-three years of age, this most distinguished wit, scholar, and gentleman was without a profession and an income. His book of "Travels" had failed: his "Dialogues on Medals" † had had no particular succcess: his Latin verses,

mony, when nothing personal inflamed his vision or warped his judgment, can be doubted by nobody.

"*Sept.* 10, 1710. — I sat till ten in the evening with Addison and Steele.

"11. — Mr. Addison and I dined together at his lodgings, and I sat with him part of this evening.

"18. — To-day I dined with Mr. Stratford at Mr. Addison's retirement near Chelsea. . . . I will get what good offices I can from Mr. Addison.

"27. — To-day all our company dined at Will Frankland's, with Steele and Addison, too.

"29. — I dined with Mr. Addison," &c. — *Journal to Stella.*

Addison inscribed a presentation copy of his Travels "To Dr. Jonathan Swift, the most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age." — (Scott. From the information of Mr. Theophilus Swift.)

"Mr. Addison, who goes over first secretary, is a most excellent person; and being my most intimate friend, I shall use all my credit to set him right in his notions of persons and things." — *Letters.*

"I examine my heart, and can find no other reason why I write to you now, besides that great love and esteem I have always had for you. I have nothing to ask you either for my friend or for myself." — Swift to Addison (1717). Scott's *Swift.* Vol. xix. p. 274.

Political differences only dulled for a while their friendly communications. Time renewed them: and Tickell enjoyed Swift's friendship as a legacy from the man with whose memory his is so honorably connected.

* "Addison usually studied all the morning; then met his party at Button's; dined there, and stayed five or six hours, and sometimes far into the night. I was of the company for about a year, but found it too much for me: it hurt my health, and so I quitted it." — Pope. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

† The *Dialogues on Medals* only appeared posthumously. The *Travels* appeared in 1705, *i.e.* after the *Campaign.* It is announced in the *Diverting Post*

even though reported the best since Virgil, or Statius at any rate, had not brought him a Government place, and Addison was living up three shabby pair of stairs in the Haymarket (in a poverty over which old Samuel Johnson rather chuckles), when in these shabby rooms an emissary from Government and Fortune came and found him.* A poem was wanted about the Duke of Marlborough's victory of Blenheim. Would Mr. Addison write one? Mr. Boyle, afterwards Lord Carleton, took back the reply to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, that Mr. Addison would. When the poem had reached a certain stage, it was carried to Godolphin; and the last lines which he read were these: —

"But, O my Muse! what numbers wilt thou find
To sing the furious troops in battle join'd?
Methinks I hear the drum's tumultuous sound
The victor's shouts and dying groans confound;
The dreadful burst of cannon rend the skies,
And all the thunder of the battle rise.
'Twas then great Marlborough's mighty soul was proved,
That, in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair,
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war:
In peaceful thought the field of death surveyed,
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.
So when an angel, by divine command,
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land
(Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed),
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;
And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm."

of December 2–9, 1704, that Mr. Addison's "long-expected poem" on the Campaign is to be published "next week."

* "When he returned to England (in 1702), with a meanness of appearance which gave testimony of the difficulties to which he had been reduced, he found his old patrons out of power, and was, therefore, for a time, at full leisure for the cultivation of his mind." — JOHNSON. *Lives of the Poets.*

Addison left off at a good moment. That simile was pronounced to be of the greatest ever produced in poetry. That angel, that good angel, flew off with Mr. Addison, and landed him in the place of Commissioner of Appeals — vice Mr. Locke providentially promoted. In the following year Mr. Addison went to Hanover with Lord Halifax, and the year after was made Undersecretary of State. O angel visits! you come "few and far between" to literary gentlemen's lodgings! Your wings seldom quiver at second floor windows now! *

You laugh? You think it is in the power of few writers nowadays to call up such an angel? Well, perhaps not; but permit us to comfort ourselves by pointing out that there are in the poem of the "Campaign" some as bad lines as heart can desire; and to hint that Mr. Addison did very wisely in not going further with my Lord Godolphin than that angelical simile. Do allow me, just for a little harmless mischief, to read you some of the lines which follow. Here is the interview between the Duke and the King of the Romans after the battle: —

"Austria's young monarch, whose imperial sway
Scepters and thrones are destined to obey,
Whose boasted ancestry so high extends
That in the Pagan Gods his lineage ends,

* [The famous story in the text, which has been generally accepted, is probably inaccurate. It was first told in 1732 by Addison's cousin, Eustace Budgell, then ruined and half sane, who was trying to puff himself by professing familiar knowledge of his eminent relation. The circumstantiality of the story is suspicious; Godolphin was the last man to give preferment to a poet in the way described, and Addison was not in the position implied. He had strong claims upon Halifax, his original patron. When Halifax lost office, Addison's pension had ceased. Halifax was now being courted by Godolphin, and could make an effective application on behalf of his client. This, and not the simile of the angel, was probably at the bottom of Addison's preferment. It has lately appeared, from the publication of Hearne's diaries by the Oxford Historical Society, that, in December 1705, it was reported that Addison was to marry the Countess of Warwick. The marriage was delayed for eleven years; but it is clear that Addison had powerful friends at this time.]

Comes from afar, in gratitude to own
The great supporter of his father's throne.
What tides of glory to his bosom ran
Clasped in th' embraces of the godlike man!
How were his eyes with pleasing wonder fixt,
To see such fire with so much sweetness mixt!
Such easy greatness, such a graceful port,
So turned and finished for the camp or court!"

How many fourth-form boys at Mr. Addison's school of Charterhouse could write as well as that now? The "Campaign" has blunders, triumphant as it was; and weak points like all campaigns.*

In the year 1713 "Cato" came out. Swift has left a description of the first night of the performance. All the laurels of Europe were scarcely sufficient for the author of this prodigious poem.† Laudations of Whig and Tory chiefs, popular ovations, complimentary garlands from literary men, translations in all languages, delight and homage from all — save from John Dennis in a minority of one. Mr. Addison

* "Mr. Addison wrote very fluently; but he was sometimes very slow and scrupulous in correcting. He would show his verses to several friends; and would alter almost everything that any of them hinted at as wrong. He seemed to be too diffident of himself; and too much concerned about his character as a poet; or (as he worded it) too solicitous for that kind of praise which, God knows, is but a very little matter after all!" — Pope. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

† "As to poetical affairs," says Pope in 1713, "I am content at present to be a bare looker-on. . . . Cato was not so much the wonder of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it thought a party play, yet what the author once said of another may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion: —

"'Envy itself is dumb — in wonder lost;
And factions strive who shall applaud him most.'

"The numerous and violent claps of the Whig party on the one side of the theater were echoed back by the Tories on the other; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head. . . . I believe you have heard that, after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my Lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, and presented him with fifty guineas in acknowledgment (as he

was called the "great Mr. Addison" after this. The Coffee-house Senate saluted him Divus: it was heresy to question that decree.

Meanwhile he was writing political papers and advancing in the political profession. He went Secretary to Ireland. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1717. And letters of his are extant, bearing date some year or two before, and written to young Lord Warwick, in which he addresses him as "my dearest Lord," and asks affectionately about his studies, and writes very prettily about nightingales and bird's nests, which he has found at Fulham for his Lordship. Those nightingales were intended to warble in the ear of Lord Warwick's mamma. Addison married her Ladyship in 1716; and died at Holland House three years after that splendid but dismal union.*

expressed it) for defending the cause of liberty so well against a perpetual dictator." — POPE'S *Letters to* SIR W. TRUMBULL.

Cato ran for thirty-five nights without interruption. Pope wrote the Prologue, and Garth the Epilogue.

It is worth noticing how many things in *Cato* keep their ground as habitual quotations; *e.g.* —

". . . big with the fate
Of Cato and of Rome."

"'Tis not in mortals to command success;
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it."

"Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury."

"I think the Romans call it Stoicism."

"My voice is still for war."

"When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honor is a private station."

Not to mention —

"The woman who deliberates is lost."

And the eternal —

"Plato, thou reasonest well,"

which avenges, perhaps, on the public their neglect of the play!

* "The lady was persuaded to marry him on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused — to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, 'Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave.' The marriage, if

But it is not for his reputation as the great author of "Cato" and the "Campaign," or for his merits as Secretary of State, or for his rank and high distinction as my Lady Warwick's husband, or for his eminence as an Examiner of political questions on the Whig side, or a Guardian of British liberties, that we admire Joseph Addison. It is as a Tatler of small talk and a Spectator of mankind, that we cherish and love him, and owe as much pleasure to him as to any human being that ever wrote. He came in that artificial age, and began to speak with his noble, natural voice. He came, the gentle satirist who hit no unfair blow; the kind judge who castigated only in smiling. While Swift went about, hanging and

uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them, nor made them, equal. . . . Rowe's ballad of 'The Despairing Shepherd' is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair." — *Dr. Johnson.*

"I received the news of Mr. Addison's being declared Secretary of State with the less surprise, in that I knew that post was almost offered to him before. At that time he declined it, and I really believe that he would have done well to have declined it now. Such a post as that, and such a wife as the Countess, do not seem to be, in prudence, eligible for a man that is asthmatic, and we may see the day when he will be heartily glad to resign them both." — LADY WORTLEY MONTAGU to POPE: *Works, Lord Wharncliffe's edit.* vol. ii. p. 111.

The issue of this marriage was a daughter, Charlotte Addison, who inherited, on her mother's death, the estate of Bilton, near Rugby, which her father had purchased. She was of weak intellect, and died, unmarried, at an advanced age.

Rowe appears to have been faithful to Addison during his courtship, for his Collection contains "Stanzas to Lady Warwick, on Mr. Addison's going to Ireland," in which her Ladyship is called "Chloe," and Joseph Addison "Lycidas"; besides the ballad mentioned by the Doctor, and which is entitled "Colin's Complaint." But not even the interest attached to the name of Addison could induce the reader to peruse this composition, though one stanza may serve as a specimen: —

"What though I have skill to complain —
Though the Muses my temples have crowned;
What though, when they hear my soft strain,
The virgins sit weeping around.

"Ah, Colin! thy hopes are in vain;
Thy pipe and thy laurel resign;
Thy false one inclines to a swain
Whose music is sweeter than thine."

ruthless — a literary Jeffreys — in Addison's kind court only minor cases were tried; only peccadilloes and small sins against society: only a dangerous libertinism in tuckers and hoops;* or a nuisance in the abuse of beaux' canes and snuff-boxes. It may be a lady is tried for breaking the peace of our sovereign lady Queen Anne, and ogling too dangerously from

* One of the most humorous of these is the paper on Hoops, which, the *Spectator* tells us, particularly pleased his friend Sir Roger: —

"Mr. Spectator, — You have diverted the town almost a whole month at the expense of the country; it is now high time that you should give the country their revenge. Since your withdrawing from this place, the fair sex are run into great extravagances. Their petticoats, which began to heave and swell before you left us, are now blown up into a most enormous concave, and rise every day more and more; in short, sir, since our women know themselves to be out of the eye of the Spectator, they will be kept within no compass. You praised them a little too soon, for the modesty of their headdresses; for as the humor of a sick person is often driven out of one limb into another, their superfluity of ornaments, instead of being entirely banished, seems only fallen from their heads upon their lower parts. What they have lost in height they make up in breadth, and, contrary to all rules of architecture, widen the foundations at the same time that they shorten the superstructure.

"The women give out, in defense of these wide bottoms, that they are airy and very proper for the season; but this I look upon to be only a pretense and a piece of art, for it is well known we have not had a more moderate summer these many years, so that it is certain the heat they complain of cannot be in the weather; besides I would fain ask these tender-constituted ladies, why they should require more cooling than their mothers before them?

"I find several speculative persons are of opinion that our sex has of late years been very saucy, and that the hoop-petticoat is made use of to keep us at a distance. It is most certain that a woman's honor cannot be better intrenched than after this manner, in circle within circle, amidst such a variety of outworks of lines and circumvallation. A female who is thus invested in whalebone is sufficiently secured against the approaches of an ill-bred fellow, who might as well think of Sir George Etherege's way of making love in a tub as in the midst of so many hoops.

"Among these various conjectures, there are men of superstitious tempers who look upon the hoop-petticoat as a kind of prodigy. Some will have it that it portends the downfall of the *French* king, and observe, that the farthingale appeared in *England* a little before the ruin of the *Spanish* monarchy. Others are of opinion that it foretells battle and bloodshed, and believe it of the same prognostication as the tail of a blazing star. For my part, I am apt to think it is a sign that multitudes are coming into the world rather than going out of it," &c. &c. — *Spectator*, No. 127.

the side box; or a Templar for beating the watch, or breaking Priscian's head; or a citizen's wife for caring too much for the puppet show, and too little for her husband and children: every one of the little sinners brought before him is amusing, and he dismisses each with the pleasantest penalties and the most charming words of admonition.

Addison wrote his papers as gayly as if he was going out for a holiday. When Steele's *Tatler* first began his prattle, Addison, then in Ireland, caught at his friend's notion, poured in paper after paper, and contributed the stores of his mind, the sweet fruits of his reading, the delightful gleanings of his daily observation, with a wonderful profusion, and as it seemed an almost endless fecundity. He was six-and-thirty years old: full and ripe. He had not worked crop after crop from his brain, manuring hastily, sub-soiling indifferently, cutting and sowing and cutting again, like other luckless cultivators of letters. He had not done much as yet: a few Latin poems — graceful prolusions; a polite book of travels; a dissertation on medals, not very deep, four acts of a tragedy, a great classical exercise; and the "Campaign," a large prize poem that won an enormous prize. But with his friend's discovery of the "Tatler," Addison's calling was found, and the most delightful talker in the world began to speak. He does not go very deep: let gentlemen of a profound genius, critics accustomed to the plunge of the bathos, console themselves by thinking that he *couldn't* go very deep. There are no traces of suffering in his writing. He was so good, so honest, so healthy, so cheerfully selfish, if I must use the word. There is no deep sentiment. I doubt, until after his marriage, perhaps, whether he ever lost his night's rest or his day's tranquillity about any woman in his life;* whereas poor Dick Steele had capacity enough to

* "Mr. Addison has not had one epithalamium that I can hear of, and must even be reduced, like a poorer and a better poet, Spenser, to make his own." — POPE'S *Letters*.

melt, and to languish, and to sigh, and to cry his honest old eyes out, for a dozen. His writings do not show insight into or reverence for the love of women, which I take to be, one the consequence of the other. He walks about the world watching their pretty humors, fashions, follies, flirtations, rivalries: and noting them with the most charming archness. He sees them in public, in the theater or the assembly, or the puppet show; or at the toyshop higgling for gloves and lace; or at the auction, battling together over a blue porcelain dragon, or a darling monster in Japan; or at church eyeing the width of their rival's hoops, or the breadth of their laces, as they sweep down the aisles. Or he looks out of his window at the "Garter" in Saint James's Street, at Ardelia's coach, as she blazes to the drawing-room with her coronet and six footmen; and remembering that her father was a Turkey merchant in the City, calculates how many sponges went to purchase her earring, and how many drums of figs to build her coach box; or he demurely watches behind a tree in Spring Garden as Saccharissa (whom he knows under her mask) trips out of her chair to the alley where Sir Fopling is waiting. He sees only the public life of women. Addison was one of the most resolute club men of his day. He passed many hours daily in those haunts. Besides drinking — which, alas! is past praying for — you must know it, he owned, too, ladies, that he indulged in that odious practice of smoking. Poor fellow! He was a man's man, remember. The only woman he *did* know, he didn't write about. I take it there would not have been much humor in that story.

He likes to go and sit in the smoking room at the "Grecian," or the "Devil"; to pace 'Change and the Mall* — to mingle

* "I have observed that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure till he knows whether the writer of it be a black or a fair man, of a mild or a choleric disposition, married or a bachelor; with other particulars of a like nature, that conduce very much to the right understanding of an author. To gratify

in that great club of the world — sitting alone in it somehow: having good-will and kindness for every single man and

this curiosity, which is so natural to a reader, I design this paper and my next as prefatory discourses to my following writings; and shall give some account in them of the persons that are engaged in this work. As the chief trouble of compiling, digesting, and correcting will fall to my share, I must do myself the justice to open the work with my own history. . . . There runs a story in the family, that when my mother was gone with child of me about three months, she dreamt that she was brought to bed of a judge. Whether this might proceed from a lawsuit which was then depending in the family, or my father's being a justice of the peace, I cannot determine; for I am not so vain as to think it presaged any dignity that I should arrive at in my future life, though that was the interpretation which the neighborhood put upon it. The gravity of my behavior at my very first appearance in the world, and all the time that I sucked, seemed to favor my mother's dream; for, as she has often told me, I threw away my rattle before I was two months old, and would not make use of my coral till they had taken away the bells from it.

"As for the rest of my infancy, there being nothing in it remarkable, I shall pass it over in silence. I find that during my nonage I had the reputation of a very sullen youth, but was always the favorite of my schoolmaster, who used to say that *my parts were solid and would wear well.* I had not been long at the University before I distinguished myself by a most profound silence; for during the space of eight years, excepting in the public exercises of the college, I scarce uttered the quantity of a hundred words; and, indeed, I do not remember that I ever spoke three sentences together in my whole life. . . .

"I have passed my latter years in this city, where I am frequently seen in most public places, though there are not more than half-a-dozen of my select friends that know me. . . . There is no place of general resort wherein I do not often make my appearance; sometimes I am seen thrusting my head into a round of politicians at 'Will's,' and listening with great attention to the narratives that are made in these little circular audiences. Sometimes I smoke a pipe at 'Child's,' and whilst I seem attentive to nothing but the *Postman*, overhear the conversation of every table in the room. I appear on Tuesday night at 'St. James's Coffeehouse'; and sometimes join the little committee of politics in the inner room, as one who comes to hear and improve. My face is likewise very well known at the 'Grecian,' the 'Cocoa-tree,' and in the theaters both of Drury Lane and the Haymarket. I have been taken for a merchant upon the Exchange for above these two years; and sometimes pass for a Jew in the assembly of stockjobbers at 'Jonathan's.' In short, wherever I see a cluster of people, I mix with them, though I never open my lips but in my own club.

"Thus I live in the world rather as a '*Spectator*,' of mankind than as one of the species; by which means I have made myself a speculative statesman, soldier, merchant, and artisan, without ever meddling in any practical part in life. I am very well versed in the theory of a husband or a father, and can

woman in it — having need of some habit and custom binding him to some few; never doing any man a wrong (unless it be a wrong to hint a little doubt about a man's parts, and to damn him with faint praise); and so he looks on the world and plays with the ceaseless humors of all of us — laughs the kindest laugh — points our neighbor's foible or eccentricity out to us with the most good-natured smiling confidence; and then, turning over his shoulder, whispers *our* foibles to our neighbor. What would Sir Roger de Coverley be without his follies and his charming little brain-cracks?* If the good knight did not call out to the people sleeping in church, and say "Amen" with such a delightful pomposity; if he did not make a speech in the assize-court *à propos de bottes*, and merely to show his dignity to Mr. Spectator: † if he did not

discern the errors in the economy, business, and diversions of others, better than those who are engaged in them — as standers-by discover blots which are apt to escape those who are in the game. . . . In short, I have acted, in all the parts of my life, as a looker-on, which is the character I intend to preserve in this paper." — *Spectator*, No. 1.

* "So effectually, indeed, did he retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that, since his time, the open violation of decency has always been considered, amongst us, the sure mark of a fool." — *Macaulay*.

† "The Court was sat before Sir Roger came; but, notwithstanding all the justices had taken their places upon the bench, they made room for the old knight at the head of them; who for his reputation in the country took occasion to whisper in the judge's ear that *he was glad his Lordship had met with so much good weather in his circuit*. I was listening to the proceedings of the Court with much attention, and infinitely pleased with that great appearance and solemnity which so properly accompanies such a public administration of our laws; when, after about an hour's sitting, I observed, to my great surprise, in the midst of a trial, that my friend Sir Roger was getting up to speak. I was in some pain for him, till I found he had acquitted himself of two or three sentences, with a look of much business and great intrepidity.

"Upon his first rising, the Court was hushed, and a general whisper ran among the country people that Sir Roger *was up*. The speech he made was so little to the purpose, that I shall not trouble my readers with an account of it, and I believe was not so much designed by the knight himself to inform the Court as to give him a figure in my eyes, and to keep up his credit in the country." — *Spectator*, No. 122.

mistake Madam Doll Tearsheet for a lady of quality in Temple Garden: if he were wiser than he is: if he had not his humor to salt his life, and were but a mere English gentleman and game preserver — of what worth were he to us? We love him for his vanities as much as his virtues. What is ridiculous is delightful in him; we are so fond of him because we laugh at him so. And out of that laughter, and out of that sweet weakness, and out of those harmless eccentricities and follies, and out of that touched brain, and out of that honest manhood and simplicity — we get a result of happiness, goodness, tenderness, pity, piety; such as, if my audience will think their reading and hearing over, doctors and divines but seldom have the fortune to inspire. And why not? Is the glory of Heaven to be sung only by gentlemen in black coats? Must the truth be only expounded in gown and surplice, and out of those two vestments can nobody preach it? Commend me to this dear preacher without orders — this parson in the tiewig. When this man looks from the world, whose weaknesses he describes so benevolently, up to the Heaven which shines over us all, I can hardly fancy a human face lighted up with a more serene rapture: a human intellect thrilling with a purer love and adoration than Joseph Addison's. Listen to him: from your childhood you have known the verses: but who can hear their sacred music without love and awe? —

"Soon as the evening shades prevail,
The moon takes up the wondrous tale,
And nightly to the listening earth
Repeats the story of her birth;
Whilst all the stars that round her burn,
And all the planets in their turn,
Confirm the tidings as they roll,
And spread the truth from pole to pole.
What though, in solemn silence, all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball;

What though no real voice nor sound
Amid their radiant orbs be found;
In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice,
For ever singing as they shine,
The hand that made us is divine."

It seems to me those verses shine like the stars. They shine out of a great deep calm. When he turns to Heaven, a Sabbath comes over that man's mind: and his face lights up from it with a glory of thanks and prayer. His sense of religion stirs through his whole being. In the fields, in the town: looking at the birds in the trees: at the children in the streets: in the morning or in the moonlight: over his books in his own room: in a happy party at a country merrymaking or a town assembly, good-will and peace to God's creatures, and love and awe of Him who made them, fill his pure heart and shine from his kind face. If Swift's life was the most wretched, I think Addison's was one of the most enviable. A life prosperous and beautiful — a calm death, — an immense fame and affection afterwards for his happy and spotless name.*

* "Garth sent to Addison (of whom he had a very high opinion) on his deathbed, to ask him whether the Christian religion was true." — Dr. Young. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"I have always preferred cheerfulness to mirth. The latter I consider as an act, the former as an habit of the mind. Mirth is short and transient, cheerfulness fixed and permanent. Those are often raised into the greatest transports of mirth who are subject to the greatest depression of melancholy: on the contrary, cheerfulness, though it does not give the mind such an exquisite gladness, prevents us from falling into any depths of sorrow. Mirth is like a flash of lightning that breaks through a gloom of clouds, and glitters for a moment; cheerfulness keeps up a kind of daylight in the mind, and fills it with a steady and perpetual serenity." — Addison. *Spectator,* No. 381.

STEELE

What do we look for in studying the history of a past age? Is it to learn the political transactions and characters of the leading public men? is it to make ourselves acquainted with the life and being of the time? If we set out with the former grave purpose, where is the truth, and who believes that he has it entire? What character of what great man is known to you? You can but make guesses as to character more or less happy. In common life don't you often judge and misjudge a man's whole conduct, setting out from a wrong impression? The tone of a voice, a word said in joke, or a trifle in behavior — the cut of his hair or the tie of his neck-cloth may disfigure him in your eyes, or poison your good opinion; or at the end of years of intimacy it may be your closest friend says something, reveals something which had previously been a secret, which alters all your views about him, and shows that he has been acting on quite a different motive to that which you fancied you knew. And if it is so with those you know, how much more with those you don't know? Say, for example, that I want to understand the character of the Duke of Marlborough. I read Swift's history of the times in which he took a part; the shrewdest of observers and initiated, one would think, into the politics of the age — he hints to me that Marlborough was a coward, and even of doubtful military capacity: he speaks of Walpole as a contemptible boor, and scarcely mentions, except to flout it, the great intrigue of the Queen's latter days, which was to have ended in bringing back the Pretender. Again, I read Marl-

borough's Life by a copious archdeacon, who has the command of immense papers, of sonorous language, of what is called the best information; and I get little or no insight into this secret motive which, I believe, influenced the whole of Marlborough's career, which caused his turnings and windings, his opportune fidelity and treason, stopped his army almost at Paris gate, and landed him finally on the Hanoverian side — the winning side: I get, I say, no truth, or only a portion of it, in the narrative of either writer, and believe that Coxe's portrait, or Swift's portrait, is quite unlike the real Churchill. I take this as a single instance, prepared to be as skeptical about any other, and say to the Muse of History, "O venerable daughter of Mnemosyne, I doubt every single statement you ever made since your ladyship was a Muse! For all your grave airs and high pretensions, you are not a whit more trustworthy than some of your lighter sisters on whom your partisans look down. You bid me listen to a general's oration to his soldiers: Nonsense! He no more made it than Turpin made his dying speech at Newgate. You pronounce a panegyric on a hero: I doubt it, and say you flatter outrageously. You utter the condemnation of a loose character: I doubt it, and think you are prejudiced and take the side of the Dons. You offer me an autobiography: I doubt all autobiographies I ever read; except those, perhaps, of Mr. Robinson Crusoe, Mariner, and writers of his class. *These* have no object in setting themselves right with the public or their own consciences; these have no motive for concealment or half truths; these call for no more confidence than I can cheerfully give, and do not force me to tax my credulity or to fortify it by evidence. I take up a volume of Doctor Smollett, or a volume of the *Spectator*, and say the fiction carries a greater amount of truth in solution than the volume which purports to be all true. Out of the fictitious book I get the expression of the life of the time; of the manners, of the move-

ment, the dress, the pleasures, the laughter, the ridicules of society — the old times live again, and I travel in the old country of England. Can the heaviest historian do more for me?"

As we read in these delightful volumes of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* the past age returns, the England of our ancestors is revivified. The Maypole rises in the Strand again in London; the churches are thronged with daily worshipers; the beaux are gathering in the coffeehouses; the gentry are going to the Drawing-room; the ladies are thronging to the toyshops: the chairmen are jostling in the streets; the footmen are running with links before the chariots, or fighting round the theater doors. In the country I see the young Squire riding to Eton with his servants behind him, and Will Wimble, the friend of the family, to see him safe. To make that journey from the Squire's and back, Will is a week on horseback. The coach takes five days between London and Bath. The judges and the bar ride the circuit. If my Lady comes to town in her post-chariot, her people carry pistols to fire a salute on Captain Macheath if he should appear, and her couriers ride ahead to prepare apartments for her at the great caravanserais on the road; Boniface receives her under the creaking sign of the "Bell" or the "Ram," and he and his chamberlains bow her up the great stair to the state apartments, whilst her carriage rumbles into the courtyard, where the "Exeter Fly" is housed that performs the journey in eight days, God willing, having achieved its daily flight of twenty miles, and landed its passengers for supper and sleep. The curate is taking his pipe in the kitchen, where the Captain's man — having hung up his master's half-pike — is at his bacon and eggs, bragging of Ramillies and Malplaquet to the townsfolk, who have their club in the chimney-corner. The Captain is ogling the chambermaid in the wooden gallery, or bribing her to know who is the pretty young mistress

that has come in the coach. The pack horses are in the great stable, and the drivers and ostlers carousing in the tap. And in Mrs. Landlady's bar, over a glass of strong waters, sits a gentleman of military appearance, who travels with pistols, as all the rest of the world does, and has a rattling gray mare in the stables which will be saddled and away with its owner half an hour before the "Fly" sets out on its last day's flight. And some five miles on the road, as the "Exeter Fly" comes jingling and creaking onwards, it will suddenly be brought to a halt by a gentleman on a gray mare, with a black vizard on his face, who thrusts a long pistol into the coach window, and bids the company to hand out their purses. . . . It must have been no small pleasure even to sit in the great kitchen in those days, and see the tide of humankind pass by. We arrive at places now, but we travel no more. Addison talks jocularly of a difference of manner and costume being quite perceivable at Staines, where there passed a young fellow "with a very tolerable periwig," though, to be sure, his hat was out of fashion, and had a Ramillies cock. I would have liked to travel in those days (being of that class of travelers who are proverbially pretty easy *coram latronibus*) and have seen my friend with the gray mare and the black vizard. Alas! there always came a day in the life of that warrior when it was the fashion to accompany him as he passed — without his black mask, and with a nosegay in his hand, accompanied by halberdiers and attended by the sheriff, — in a carriage without springs, and a clergyman jolting beside him, to a spot close by Cumberland Gate and the Marble Arch, where a stone still records that here Tyburn turnpike stood. What a change in a century; in a few years! Within a few yards of that gate the fields began: the fields of his exploits, behind the hedges of which he lurked and robbed. A great and wealthy city has grown over those meadows. Were a man brought to die there now, the windows would be closed

and the inhabitants keep their houses in sickening horror. A hundred years back, people crowded to see that last act of a highwayman's life, and make jokes on it. Swift laughed at him, grimly advising him to provide a Holland shirt and white cap crowned with a crimson or black ribbon for his exit, to mount the cart cheerfully — shake hands with the hangman, and so — farewell. Gay wrote the most delightful ballads, and made merry over the same hero. Contrast these with the writings of our present humorists! Compare those morals and ours — those manners and ours!

We can't tell — you would not bear to be told — the whole truth regarding those men and manners. You could no more suffer in a British drawing-room, under the reign of Queen Victoria, a fine gentleman or fine lady of Queen Anne's time, or hear what they heard and said, than you would receive an ancient Briton. It is as one reads about savages, that one contemplates the wild ways, the barbarous feasts, the terrific pastimes, of the men of pleasure of that age. We have our fine gentlemen, and our "fast men"; permit me to give you an idea of one particularly fast nobleman of Queen Anne's days, whose biography has been preserved to us by the law reporters.

In 1691, when Steele was a boy at school, my Lord Mohun was tried by his peers for the murder of William Mountford, comedian. In "Howell's State Trials," the reader will find not only an edifying account of this exceedingly fast nobleman, but of the times and manners of those days. My Lord's friend, a Captain Hill, smitten with the charms of the beautiful Mrs. Bracegirdle, and anxious to marry her at all hazards, determined to carry her off, and for this purpose hired a hackney coach with six horses, and a half-dozen of soldiers to aid him in the storm. The coach with a pair of horses (the four leaders being in waiting elsewhere) took its station opposite my Lord Craven's house in Drury Lane, by which door Mrs.

Bracegirdle was to pass on her way from the theater. As she passed in company of her mamma and a friend, Mr. Page, the Captain seized her by the hand, the soldiers hustled Mr. Page and attacked him sword in hand, and Captain Hill and his noble friend endeavored to force Madam Bracegirdle into the coach. Mr. Page called for help: the population of Drury Lane rose: it was impossible to effect the capture; and bidding the soldiers go about their business, and the coach to drive off, Hill let go of his prey sulkily, and waited for other opportunities of revenge. The man of whom he was most jealous was Will Mountford, the comedian; Will removed, he thought Mrs. Bracegirdle might be his: and accordingly the Captain and his Lordship lay that night in wait for Will, and as he was coming out of a house in Norfolk Street, while Mohun engaged him in talk, Hill, in the words of the Attorney-General, made a pass and ran him clean through the body.

Sixty-one of my Lord's peers finding him not guilty of murder, while but fourteen found him guilty, this very fast nobleman was discharged, and made his appearance seven years after in another trial for murder — when he, my Lord Warwick, and three gentlemen of the military profession, were concerned in the fight which ended in the death of Captain Coote.

This jolly company were drinking together in "Lockit's" at Charing Cross, when angry words arose between Captain Coote and Captain French; whom my Lord Mohun and my Lord the Earl of Warwick * and Holland endeavored to pacify.

* The husband of the Lady Warwick who married Addison, and the father of the young Earl who was brought to his stepfather's bed to see "how a Christian could die." He was amongst the wildest of the nobility of that day; and in the curious collection of Chap-Books at the British Museum, I have seen more than one anecdote of the freaks of the gay lord. He was popular in London, as such daring spirits have been in our time. The anecdotists speak very kindly of his practical jokes. Mohun was scarcely out of prison for his second homicide, when he went on Lord Macclesfield's embassy to the Elector of Hanover when Queen Anne sent the Garter to his Highness. The

My Lord Warwick was a dear friend of Captain Coote, lent him £100 to buy his commission in the Guards; once when the Captain was arrested for £13 by his tailor, my Lord lent him five guineas, often paid his reckoning for him, and showed him other offices of friendship. On this evening the disputants, French and Coote, being separated whilst they were upstairs, unluckily stopped to drink ale again at the bar of "Lockit's." The row began afresh — Coote lunged at French over the bar, and at last all six called for chairs, and went to Leicester Fields, where they fell to. Their Lordships engaged on the side of Captain Coote. My lord of Warwick was severely wounded in the hand, Mr. French also was stabbed, but honest Captain Coote got a couple of wounds — one especially, "a wound in the left side just under the short ribs, and piercing through the diaphragma," which did for Captain Coote. Hence the trials of my Lords Warwick and Mohun: hence the assemblage of peers, the report of the transaction in which these defunct fast men still live for the observation of the curious. My Lord of Warwick is brought to the bar by the Deputy-Governor of the Tower of London, having the ax carried before him by the gentleman jailer, who stood with it at the bar at the right hand of the prisoner, turning the edge from him; the prisoner, at his approach, making three bows, one to his Grace the Lord High Steward, the other to the peers on each hand; and his Grace and the peers return the salute. And besides these great personages, august in periwigs, and nodding to the right and left, a host of the small come up out of the past and pass before us — the jolly captains brawling in the tavern, and laughing and cursing over their cups — the drawer that serves, the bar-girl that waits, the bailiff on the prowl, the

chronicler of the expedition speaks of his Lordship as an amiable young man, who had been in bad company, but was quite repentant and reformed. He and Macartney afterwards murdered the Duke of Hamilton between them, in which act Lord Mohun died. This amiable Baron's name was Charles, and not Henry, as a recent novelist has christened him (in *Esmond*).

chairmen trudging through the black lampless streets, and smoking their pipes by the railings, whilst swords are clashing in the garden within. "Help there! a gentleman is hurt!" The chairmen put up their pipes, and help the gentleman over the railings, and carry him, ghastly and bleeding, to the Bagnio in Long Acre, where they knock up the surgeon — a pretty tall gentleman: but that wound under the short ribs has done for him. Surgeon, lords, captains, bailiffs, chairmen and gentleman jailer with your ax, where be you now? The gentleman axeman's head is off his own shoulders; the lords and judges can wag theirs no longer; the bailiff's writs have ceased to run: the honest chairmen's pipes are put out, and with their brawny calves they have walked away into Hades — all as irrecoverably done for as Will Mountford or Captain Coote. The subject of our night's lecture saw all these people — rode in Captain Coote's company of the Guards very probably — wrote and sighed for Bracegirdle, went home tipsy in many a chair, after many a bottle, in many a tavern — fled from many a bailiff.

In 1709, when the publication of the *Tatler* began, our great-great-grandfathers must have seized upon that new and delightful paper with much such eagerness as lovers of light literature in a later day exhibited when the Waverley novels appeared, upon which the public rushed, forsaking that feeble entertainment of which the Miss Porters, the Anne of Swansseas, and worthy Mrs. Radcliffe herself, with her dreary castles and exploded old ghosts, had had pretty much the monopoly. I have looked over many of the comic books with which our ancestors amused themselves, from the novels of Swift's coadjutrix, Mrs. Manley, the delectable author of the "New Atlantis," to the facetious productions of Tom Durfey, and Tom Brown, and Ned Ward, writer of the "London Spy" and several other volumes of ribaldry. The slang of the taverns and ordinaries, the wit of the bagnios, form the strongest part

of the farrago of which these libels are composed. In the excellent newspaper collection at the British Museum, you may see, besides, the *Craftsman* * and *Postboy* specimens — and queer specimens they are — of the higher literature of Queen Anne's time. Here is an abstract from a notable journal bearing date Wednesday, October 13th, 1708, and entitled *The British Apollo; or, curious amusements for the ingenious, by a society of gentlemen.* The *British Apollo* invited and professed to answer questions upon all subjects of wit, morality, science, and even religion; and two out of its four pages are filled with queries and replies much like some of the oracular penny prints of the present time.

One of the first querists, referring to the passage that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, argues that polygamy is justifiable in the laity. The society of gentlemen conducting the *British Apollo* are posed by this casuist, and promise to give him an answer. Celinda then wishes to know from "the gentleman," concerning the souls of the dead, whether they shall have the satisfaction to know those whom they most valued in this transitory life. The gentlemen of the *Apollo* give but poor comfort to poor Celinda. They are inclined to think not; for, say they, since every inhabitant of those regions will be infinitely dearer than here are our nearest relatives — what have we to do with a partial friendship in that happy place? Poor Celinda! it may have been a child or a lover whom she had lost, and was pining after, when the oracle of *British Apollo* gave her this dismal answer. She has solved the question for herself by this time, and knows quite as well as the society of gentlemen.

From theology we come to physics, and Q. asks, "Why does hot water freeze sooner than cold?" *Apollo* replies, "Hot water cannot be said to freeze sooner than cold; but water once heated and cold may be subject to freeze by the

* The *Craftsman* did not appear till 1726.

evaporation of the spirituous parts of the water, which renders it less able to withstand the power of frosty weather."

The next query is rather a delicate one. "You, Mr. Apollo, who are said to be the God of Wisdom, pray give us the reason why kissing is so much in fashion: what benefit one receives by it, and who was the inventor, and you will oblige Corinna." To this queer demand the lips of Phœbus, smiling, answer: "Pretty innocent Corinna! *Apollo* owns that he was a little surprised by your kissing question, particularly at that part of it where you desire to know the benefit you receive by it. Ah! madam, had you a lover, you would not come to *Apollo* for a solution; since there is no dispute but the kisses of mutual lovers give infinite satisfaction. As to its invention, 'tis certain nature was its author, and it began with the first courtship."

After a column more of questions, follow nearly two pages of poems, signed by Philander, Armenia, and the like, and chiefly on the tender passion; and the paper winds up with a letter from Leghorn, an account of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene before Lille, and proposals for publishing two sheets on the present state of Æthiopia, by Mr. Hill: all of which is printed for the authors by J. Mayo, at the Printing Press against Water Lane in Fleet Street. What a change it must have been — how *Apollo's* oracles must have been struck dumb — when the *Tatler* appeared, and scholars, gentlemen, men of the world, men of genius, began to speak!

Shortly before the Boyne was fought, and young Swift had begun to make acquaintance with English Court manners and English servitude, in Sir William Temple's family, another Irish youth was brought to learn his humanities at the old school of Charterhouse, near Smithfield; to which foundation he had been appointed by James, Duke of Ormond, a governor of the House, and a patron of the lad's family. The boy was an orphan, and described, twenty years after, with a

sweet pathos and simplicity, some of the earliest recollections of a life which was destined to be checkered by a strange variety of good and evil fortune.

I am afraid no good report could be given by his masters and ushers of that thick-set, square-faced, black-eyed, soft-hearted little Irish boy. He was very idle. He was whipped deservedly a great number of times. Though he had very good parts of his own, he got other boys to do his lessons for him, and only took just as much trouble as should enable him to scuffle through his exercises, and by good fortune escape the flogging-block. One hundred and fifty years after, I have myself inspected, but only as an amateur, that instrument of righteous torture still existing, and in occasional use in a secluded private apartment of the old Charterhouse School; and have no doubt it is the very counterpart, if not the ancient and interesting machine itself, at which poor Dick Steele submitted himself to the tormentors.

Besides being very kind, lazy, and good-natured, this boy went invariably into debt with the tart woman; ran out of bounds, and entered into pecuniary, or rather promissory engagements with the neighboring lollipop venders and pie men — exhibited an early fondness and capacity for drinking mum and sack, and borrowed from all his comrades who had money to lend. I have no sort of authority for the statement here made of Steele's early life; but if the child is father of the man, the father of young Steele of Merton, who left Oxford without taking a degree, and entered the Life Guards — the father of Captain Steele of Lucas's Fusiliers, who got his company through the patronage of my Lord Cutts — the father of Mr. Steele the Commissioner of Stamps, the editor of the *Gazette*, the *Tatler*, and *Spectator*, the expelled Member of Parliament, and the author of the "Tender Husband" and the "Conscious Lovers"; if man and boy resembled each other, Dick Steele the schoolboy must have been one of the

most generous, good-for-nothing, amiable little creatures that ever conjugated the verb *tupto*, I beat, *tuptomai*, I am whipped, in any school in Great Britain.

Almost every gentleman who does me the honor to hear me will remember that the very greatest character which he has seen in the course of his life, and the person to whom he has looked up with the greatest wonder and reverence, was the head boy at his school. The schoolmaster himself hardly inspires such an awe. The head boy construes as well as the schoolmaster himself. When he begins to speak the hall is hushed, and every little boy listens. He writes off copies of Latin verses as melodiously as Virgil. He is good-natured, and, his own masterpieces achieved, pours out other copies of verses for other boys with an astonishing ease and fluency; the idle ones only trembling lest they should be discovered on giving in their exercises and whipped because their poems were too good. I have seen great men in my time, but never such a great one as that head boy of my childhood: we all thought he must be Prime Minister, and I was disappointed on meeting him in after life to find he was no more than six feet high.

Dick Steele, the Charterhouse gownboy, contracted such an admiration in the years of his childhood, and retained it faithfully through his life. Through the school and through the world, whithersoever his strange fortune led this erring, wayward, affectionate creature, Joseph Addison was always his head boy. Addison wrote his exercises. Addison did his best themes. He ran on Addison's messages; fagged for him and blacked his shoes: to be in Joe's company was Dick's greatest pleasure, and he took a sermon or a caning from his monitor with the most boundless reverence, acquiescence, and affection.*

* "Steele had the greatest veneration for Addison, and used to show it, in all companies, in a particular manner. Addison, now and then, used to play a little upon him; but he always took it well." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"Sir Richard Steele was the best-natured creature in the world: even in

Steele found Addison a stately College Don at Oxford, and himself did not make much figure at this place. He wrote a comedy, which, by the advice of a friend, the humble fellow burned there; and some verses, which I dare say are as sublime as other gentlemen's compositions at that age; but being smitten with a sudden love for military glory, he threw up the cap and gown for the saddle and bridle, and rode privately in the Horse Guards, in the Duke of Ormond's troop — the second — and, probably, with the rest of the gentlemen of his troop, "all mounted on black horses with white feathers in their hats, and scarlet coats richly laced," marched by King William, in Hyde Park, in November 1699,* and a great show of the nobility, besides twenty thousand people, and above a thousand coaches. "The Guards had just got their new clothes," the *London Post* said: "they are extraordinary grand, and thought to be the finest body of horse in the world." But Steele could hardly have seen any actual service. He who wrote about himself, his mother, his wife, his loves, his debts, his friends, and the wine he drank, would have told us of his battles if he had seen any. His old patron, Ormond, probably got him his cornetcy in the Guards, from which he was promoted to be a captain in Lucas's Fusiliers, getting his company through the patronage of Lord Cutts, whose secretary he was, and to whom he dedicated his work called the "Christian Hero." As for Dick, whilst writing this ardent devotional work, he was deep in debt, in drink, and in all the follies of the town; it is related that all the officers of Lucas's, and the

his worst state of health, he seemed to desire nothing but to please and be pleased." — Dr. Young. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

Steele, it may be noted, was a few weeks older than Addison. He was born in March, Addison on 1st May, 1672.

* Steele appears to have been a trooper in the Life Guards; but in 1699 he had received from Lord Cutts an ensigncy in the Coldstream Guards. In 1702 he became captain in Lucas's regiment, which, however, was not called "Fusiliers." — See Aitken's *Life of Steele.*

gentlemen of the Guards, laughed at Dick.* And in truth a theologian in liquor is not a respectable object, and a hermit,

* "The gayety of his dramatic tone may be seen in this little scene between two brilliant sisters, from his comedy *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode.* Dick wrote this, he said, from "a necessity of enlivening his character," which, it seemed, the *Christian Hero* had a tendency to make too decorous, grave, and respectable in the eyes of readers of that pious piece.

[*Scene draws and discovers* LADY CHARLOTTE, *reading at a table,* — LADY HARRIET, *playing at a glass, to and fro, and viewing herself.*]

"*L. Ha.* Nay, good sister, you may as well talk to me [*looking at herself as she speaks*] as sit staring at a book which I know you can't attend. — Good Dr. Lucas may have writ there what he pleases, but there's no putting Francis, Lord Hardy, now Earl of Brumpton, out of your head, or making him absent from your eyes. Do but look on me, now, and deny it if you can.

"*L. Ch.* You are the maddest girl [*smiling*].

"*L. Ha.* Look ye, I knew you could not say it and forbear laughing. [*Looking over Charlotte.*] — Oh! I see his name as plain as you do — F-r-a-n, Fran, — c-i-s, cis, Francis, 'tis in every line of the book.

"*L. Ch.* [*rising*]. It's in vain, I see, to mind anything in such impertinent company — but, granting 'twere as you say, as to my Lord Hardy — 'tis more excusable to admire another than oneself.

"*L. Ha.* No, I think not, — yes, I grant you, than really to be vain of one's person, but I don't admire myself, — Pish! I don't believe my eyes to have that softness. [*Looking in the glass.*] They ain't so piercing: no, 'tis only stuff, the men will be talking. — Some people are such admirers of teeth — Lord, what signifies teeth! [*Showing her teeth.*] A very black-a-moor has as white a set of teeth as I. — No, sister, I don't admire myself, but I've a spirit of contradiction in me: I don't know I'm in love with myself, only to rival the men.

"*L. Ch.* Ay, but Mr. Campley will gain ground ev'n of that rival of his, your dear self.

"*L. Ha.* Oh, what have I done to you, that you should name that insolent intruder? A confident, opinionative fop. No, indeed, if I am, as a poetical lover of mine sighed and sung of both sexes,

'The public envy and the public care,'

I shan't be so easily catched — I thank him — I want but to be sure I should heartily torment him by banishing him, and then consider whether he should depart this life or not.

"*L. Ch.* Indeed, sister, to be serious with you, this vanity in your humor does not at all become you.

"*L. Ha.* Vanity! All the matter is, we gay people are more sincere than you wise folks: all your life's an art. — Speak your soul. — Look you there. — [*Hauling her to the glass.*] Are you not struck with a secret pleasure when you

though he may be out at elbows, must not be in debt to the tailor. Steele says of himself that he was always sinning and repenting. He beat his breast and cried most piteously when he *did* repent: but as soon as crying had made him thirsty, he fell to sinning again. In that charming paper in the *Tatler*, in which he records his father's death, his mother's griefs, his own most solemn and tender emotions, he says he is interrupted by the arrival of a hamper of wine, "the same as is to be sold at Garraway's next week"; upon the receipt of which he sends for three friends, and they fall to instantly, "drinking two bottles apiece, with great benefit to themselves, and not separating till two o'clock in the morning."

His life was so. Jack the drawer was always interrupting it, bringing him a bottle from the "Rose," or inviting him over to a bout there with Sir Plume and Mr. Diver; and Dick wiped his eyes, which were whimpering over his papers, took down his laced hat, put on his sword and wig, kissed his wife and children, told them a lie about pressing business, and went off to the "Rose" to the jolly fellows.

While Mr. Addison was abroad, and after he came home in rather a dismal way to wait upon Providence in his shabby lodging in the Haymarket, young Captain Steele was cutting a

view that bloom in your look, that harmony in your shape, that promptitude in your mien?

"*L. Ch.* Well, simpleton, if I am at first so simple as to be a little taken with myself, I know it a fault, and take pains to correct it.

"*L. Ha.* Pshaw! Pshaw! Talk this musty tale to old Mrs. Fardingale, 'tis too soon for me to think at that rate.

"*L. Ch.* They that think it too soon to understand themselves will very soon find it too late. — But tell me honestly, don't you like Campley?

"*L. Ha.* The fellow is not to be abhorred, if the forward thing did not think of getting me so easily. — Oh, I hate a heart I can't break when I please. — What makes the value of dear china, but that 'tis so brittle? — were it not for that, you might as well have stone mugs in your closet." — *The Funeral*, Oct. 2d.

"We knew the obligations the stage had to his writings [Steele's]; there being scarcely a comedian of merit in our whole company whom his *Tatlers* had not made better by his recommendation of them." — *Cibber*.

much smarter figure than that of his classical friend of Charter house Cloister and Maudlin Walk. Could not some painter give an interview between the gallant Captain of Lucas's, with his hat cocked, and his lace, and his face too, a trifle tarnished with drink, and that poet, that philosopher, pale, proud, and poor, his friend and monitor of school days, of all days? How Dick must have bragged about his chances and his hopes, and the fine company he kept, and the charms of the reigning toasts and popular actresses, and the number of bottles that he and my Lord and some other pretty fellows had cracked overnight at the "Devil," or the "Garter"! Cannot one fancy Joseph Addison's calm smile and cold gray eyes following Dick for an instant, as he struts down the Mall to dine with the Guard at Saint James's, before he turns, with his sober pace and threadbare suit, to walk back to his lodgings up the two pair of stairs? Steele's name was down for promotion, Dick always said himself, in the glorious, pious, and immortal William's last table-book. Jonathan Swift's name had been written here by the same hand too.

Our worthy friend, the author of the "Christian Hero," continued to make no small figure about town by the use of his wits.* He was appointed Gazetteer: he wrote, in 1703, "The Tender Husband," his second play, in which there is some delightful farcical writing, and of which he fondly owned in after life, and when Addison was no more, that there were "many applauded strokes" from Addison's beloved hand.†

* "There is not now in his sight that excellent man, whom Heaven made his friend and superior, to be at a certain place in pain for what he should say or do. I will go on in his further encouragement. The best woman that ever man had cannot now lament and pine at his neglect of himself." — STEELE [of himself]. *The Theater.* No. 12, Feb. 1719–20.

† *The Funeral* supplies an admirable stroke of humor, — one which Sydney Smith has used as an illustration of the faculty in his lectures.

The undertaker is talking to his *employees* about their duty.

"*Sable.* Ha, you! — A little more upon the dismal [*forming their countenances*]; this fellow has a good mortal look, — place him near the corpse: that

Is it not a pleasant partnership to remember? Can't one fancy Steele full of spirits and youth, leaving his gay company to go to Addison's lodging, where his friend sits in the shabby sitting room, quite serene, and cheerful, and poor? In 1704, Steele came on the town with another comedy, and behold it was so moral and religious, as poor Dick insisted, — so dull the town thought, — that the "Lying Lover" was damned.*

Addison's hour of success now came, and he was able to help our friend the "Christian Hero" in such a way, that, if there had been any chance of keeping that poor tipsy champion upon his legs, his fortune was safe, and his competence assured. Steele procured the place of Commissioner of Stamps: he wrote so richly, so gracefully often, so kindly always, with such a pleasant wit and easy frankness, with such a gush of good spirits and good humor, that his early papers may be compared to Addison's own, and are to be read, by a male reader at least, with quite an equal pleasure.†

wainscot-face must be o'top of the stairs; that fellow's almost in a fright (that looks as if he were full of some strange misery) at the end of the hall. So — But I'll fix you all myself. Let's have no laughing now on any provocation. Look yonder — that hale, well-looking puppy! You ungrateful scoundrel, did not I pity you, take you out of a great man's service, and show you the pleasure of receiving wages? *Did not I give you ten, then fifteen, and twenty shillings a week to be sorrowful? — and the more I give you I think the gladder you are!*"

* There is some confusion here as to dates. Steele's first play, the *Funeral* was brought out in December 1701; his second, the *Lying Lover* in December 1703; and his third the *Tender Husband* in April 1705.

† "From my own Apartment: *Nov.* 16

"There are several persons who have many pleasures and entertainments in their possession, which they do not enjoy; it is, therefore, a kind and good office to acquaint them with their own happiness, and turn their attention to such instances of their good fortune as they are apt to overlook. Persons in the married state often want such a monitor; and pine away their days by looking upon the same condition in anguish and murmuring, which carries with it, in the opinion of others, a complication of all the pleasures of life, and a retreat from its inquietudes.

"I am led into this thought by a visit I made to an old friend who was formerly my schoolfellow. He came to town last week, with his family, for the win-

After the *Tatler* in 1711, the famous *Spectator* made its appearance, and this was followed, at various intervals, by many periodicals under the same editor — the *Guardian* —

ter; and yesterday morning sent me word his wife expected me to dinner. I am, as it were, at home at that house, and every member of it knows me for their well-wisher. I cannot, indeed, express the pleasure it is to be met by the children with so much joy as I am when I go thither. The boys and girls strive who shall come first, when they think it is I that am knocking at the door; and that child which loses the race to me runs back again to tell the father it is Mr. Bickerstaff. This day I was led in by a pretty girl that we all thought must have forgot me; for the family has been out of town these two years. Her knowing me again was a mighty subject with us, and took up our discourse at the first entrance; after which, they began to rally me upon a thousand little stories they heard in the country, about my marriage to one of my neighbors' daughters; upon which, the gentleman, my friend, said, 'Nay; if Mr. Bickerstaff marries a child of any of his old companions, I hope mine shall have the preference: there is Mrs. Mary is now sixteen, and would make him as fine a widow as the best of them. But I know him too well; he is so enamored with the very memory of those who flourished in our youth, that he will not so much as look upon the modern beauties. I remember, old gentleman, how often you went home in a day to refresh your countenance and dress when Teraminta reigned in your heart. As we came up in the coach, I repeated to my wife some of your verses on her.' With such reflections on little passages which happened long ago, we passed our time during a cheerful and elegant meal. After dinner his lady left the room, as did also the children. As soon as we were alone, he took me by the hand: 'Well, my good friend,' says he, 'I am heartily glad to see thee; I was afraid you would never have seen all the company that dined with you to-day again. Do not you think the good woman of the house a little altered since you followed her from the playhouse to find out who she was for me?' I perceived a tear fall down his cheek as he spoke, which moved me not a little. But, to turn the discourse, I said, 'She is not, indeed, that creature she was when she returned me the letter I carried from you, and told me, "She hoped, as I was a gentleman, I would be employed no more to trouble her, who had never offended me; but would be so much the gentleman's friend as to dissuade him from a pursuit which he could never succeed in." You may remember I thought her in earnest, and you were forced to employ your cousin Will, who made his sister get acquainted with her for you. You cannot expect her to be forever fifteen.' 'Fifteen!' replied my good friend. 'Ah! you little understand — you, that have lived a bachelor — how great, how exquisite a pleasure there is in being really beloved! It is impossible that the most beauteous face in nature should raise in me such pleasing ideas as when I look upon that excellent woman. That fading in her countenance is chiefly caused by her watching with me in my fever. This was followed by a fit of sickness, which had like to have carried me off last winter. I tell you, sincerely, I have so

the *Englishman* — the *Lover*, whose love was rather insipid — the *Reader*, of whom the public saw no more after his second appearance — the *Theater*, under the pseudonym of Sir

many obligations to her that I cannot, with any sort of moderation, think of her present state of health. But, as to what you say of fifteen, she gives me every day pleasure beyond what I ever knew in the possession of her beauty when I was in the vigor of youth. Every moment of her life brings me fresh instances of her complacency to my inclinations, and her prudence in regard to my fortune. Her face is to me much more beautiful than when I first saw it; there is no decay in any feature which I cannot trace from the very instant it was occasioned by some anxious concern for my welfare and interests. Thus, at the same time, methinks, the love I conceived towards her for what she was, is heightened by my gratitude for what she is. The love of a wife is as much above the idle passion commonly called by that name, as the loud laughter of buffoons is inferior to the elegant mirth of gentlemen. Oh! she is an inestimable jewel! In her examination of her household affairs, she shows a certain fearfulness to find fault, which makes her servants obey her like children; and the meanest we have has an ingenuous shame for an offense not always to be seen in children in other families. I speak freely to you, my old friend; ever since her sickness, things that gave me the quickest joy before turn now to a certain anxiety. As the children play in the next room, I know the poor things by their steps, and am considering what they must do should they lose their mother in their tender years. The pleasure I used to take in telling my boy stories of battles, and asking my girl questions about the disposal of her baby, and the gossiping of it, is turned into inward reflection and melancholy.'

"He would have gone on in this tender way, when the good lady entered, and, with an inexpressible sweetness in her countenance, told us, 'she had been searching her closet for something very good to treat such an old friend as I was.' Her husband's eyes sparkled with pleasure at the cheerfulness of her countenance; and I saw all his fears vanish in an instant. The lady observing something in our looks which showed we had been more serious than ordinary, and seeing her husband receive her with great concern under a forced cheerfulness, immediately guessed at what we had been talking of; and applying herself to me, said, with a smile, 'Mr. Bickerstaff, do not believe a word of what he tells you; I shall still live to have you for my second, as I have often promised you, unless he takes more care of himself than he has done since his coming to town. You must know he tells me, that he finds London is a much more healthy place than the country; for he sees several of his old acquaintances and schoolfellows are here — *young fellows with fair, full-bottomed periwigs*. I could scarce keep him this morning from going out *open-breasted*.' My friend, who is always extremely delighted with her agreeable humor, made her sit down with us. She did it with that easiness which is peculiar to women of sense; and to keep up the good humor she had brought in with her, turned her raillery upon me. 'Mr. Bickerstaff, you remember you followed me one night from the playhouse;

John Edgar, which Steele wrote while Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, to which post, and to that of Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court, and to the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex, and to the honor of knighthood, Steele had been preferred soon after the accession of George I; whose cause honest Dick had nobly fought, through disgrace, and danger, against the most formidable enemies,

suppose you should carry me thither to-morrow night, and lead me in the front box.' This put us into a long field of discourse about the beauties who were the mothers to the present, and shined in the boxes twenty years ago. I told her 'I was glad she had transferred so many of her charms, and I did not question but her eldest daughter was within half-a-year of being a toast.'

"We were pleasing ourselves with this fantastical preferment of the young lady, when, on a sudden, we were alarmed with the noise of a drum, and immediately entered my little godson to give me a point of war. His mother, between laughing and chiding, would have put him out of the room; but I would not part with him so. I found, upon conversation with him, though he was a little noisy in his mirth, that the child had excellent parts, and was a great master of all the learning on the other side of eight years old. I perceived him a very great historian in *Æsop's Fables;* but he frankly declared to me his mind, 'that he did not delight in that learning, because he did not believe they were true;' for which reason I found he had very much turned his studies, for about a twelvemonth past, into the lives of Don Bellianis of Greece, Guy of Warwick, 'the Seven Champions,' and other historians of that age. I could not but observe the satisfaction the father took in the forwardness of his son, and that these diversions might turn to some profit. I found the boy had made remarks which might be of service to him during the course of his whole life. He would tell you the mismanagement of John Hickerthrift, find fault with the passionate temper in Bevis of Southampton, and loved Saint George for being the champion of England; and by this means had his thoughts insensibly molded into the notions of discretion, virtue, and honor. I was extolling his accomplishments, when his mother told me 'that the little girl who led me in this morning was, in her way, a better scholar than he. Betty,' said she, 'deals chiefly in fairies and sprights; and sometimes in a winter night will terrify the maids with her accounts, until they are afraid to go up to bed."

"I sat with them until it was very late, sometimes in merry, sometimes in serious discourse, with this particular pleasure, which gives the only true relish to all conversation, a sense that every one of us liked each other. I went home, considering the different conditions of a married life and that of a bachelor; and I must confess it struck me with a secret concern to reflect, that whenever I go off I shall leave no traces behind me. In this pensive mood I return to my family; that is to say, to my maid, my dog, my cat, who only can be the better or worse for what happens to me." — *The Tatler.*

against traitors and bullies, against Bolingbroke and Swift in the last reign. With the arrival of the King, that splendid conspiracy broke up; and a golden opportunity came to Dick Steele, whose hand, alas, was too careless to gripe it.*

Steele married twice; and outlived his places, his scheme, his wife, his income, his health, and almost everything but his kind heart. That ceased to trouble him in 1729, when he died, worn out and almost forgotten by his contemporaries, in Wales, where he had the remnant of a property.

Posterity has been kinder to this amiable creature; all women especially are bound to be grateful to Steele, as he was the first of our writers who really seemed to admire and respect them. Congreve the Great, who alludes to the low estimation in which women were held in Elizabeth's time, as a reason why the women of Shakespeare make so small a figure in the poet's dialogues, though he can himself pay splendid compliments to women, yet looks on them as mere instruments of gallantry, and destined, like the most consummate fortifications, to fall, after a certain time, before the arts and bravery of the besieger, man. There is a letter of Swift's entitled "Advice to a very Young Married Lady," which shows the Dean's opinion of the female society of his day, and that if he despised man he utterly scorned women too. No lady of our time could be treated by any man, were he ever so much a wit or Dean, in such a tone of insolent patronage and vulgar protection. In this performance, Swift hardly takes pains to hide his opinion that a woman is a fool: tells her to read books, as if reading was a novel accomplishment; and informs her that "not one gentleman's daughter in a thousand has been brought to read or understand her own natural tongue." Addison laughs at women equally; but, with the gentleness and politeness of his nature, smiles at them and watches them, as if they were harmless, half-witted, amusing, pretty creatures, only made to be

* He took what he could get, though it was not much.

men's playthings. It was Steele who first began to pay a manly homage to their goodness and understanding, as well as to their tenderness and beauty.* In his comedies the heroes do not rant and rave about the divine beauties of Gloriana or Statira, as the characters were made to do in the chivalry romances and the high-flown dramas just going out of vogue; but Steele admires women's virtue, acknowledges their sense, and adores their purity and beauty, with an ardor and strength which should win the good-will of all women to their hearty and respectful champion. It is this ardor, this respect, this manliness, which makes his comedies so pleasant and their heroes such fine gentlemen. He paid the finest compliment to a woman that perhaps ever was offered. Of one woman, whom Congreve had also admired and celebrated, Steele says, that "to have loved her was a liberal education." "How often," he says, dedicating a volume to his wife, "how often has your tenderness removed pain from my sick head, how often anguish from my afflicted heart! If there are such beings as guardian angels, they are thus employed. I cannot believe one of them to be more good in inclination, or more charming in form than my wife." His breast seems to warm and his eyes to kindle when he meets with a good and beautiful woman, and it is with his heart as well as with his hat that he salutes her. About children, and all that relates to home he is not less tender, and more

* "As to the pursuits after affection and esteem, the fair sex are happy in this particular, that with them the one is much more nearly related to the other than in men. The love of a woman is inseparable from some esteem of her; and as she is naturally the object of affection, the woman who has your esteem has also some degree of your love. A man that dotes on a woman for her beauty, will whisper his friend, "That creature has a great deal of wit when you are well acquainted with her." And if you examine the bottom of your esteem for a woman, you will find you have a greater opinion of her beauty than anybody else. As to us men, I design to pass most of my time with the facetious Harry Bickerstaff; but William Bickerstaff, the most prudent man of our family, shall be my executor." — *Tatler*, No. 206.

than once speaks in apology of what he calls his softness. He would have been nothing without that delightful weakness. It is that which gives his works their worth and his style its charm. It, like his life, is full of faults and careless blunders; and redeemed, like that, by his sweet and compassionate nature.

We possess of poor Steele's wild and checkered life some of the most curious memoranda that ever were left of a man's biography.* Most men's letters, from Cicero down to Wal-

* The Correspondence of Steele passed after his death into the possession of his daughter Elizabeth, by his second wife, Miss Scurlock, of Carmarthenshire. She married the Hon. John, afterwards third Lord Trevor. At her death, part of the letters passed to Mr. Thomas, a grandson of a natural daughter of Steele's; and part to Lady Trevor's next of kin, Mr. Scurlock. They were published by the learned Nichols — from whose later edition of them, in 1809, our specimens are quoted.

Here we have him, in his courtship — which was not a very long one: —

To Mrs. Scurlock

Aug. 30, 1707

"MADAM, — I beg pardon that my paper is not finer, but I am forced to write from a coffeehouse, where I am attending about business. There is a dirty crowd of busy faces all around me, talking of money; while all my ambition, all my wealth, is love! Love which animates my heart, sweetens my humor, enlarges my soul, and affects every action of my life. It is to my lovely charmer I owe, that many noble ideas are continually affixed to my words and actions; it is the natural effect of that generous passion to create in the admirer some similitude of the object admired. Thus, my dear, am I every day to improve from so sweet a companion. Look up, my fair one, to that Heaven which made thee such; and join with me to implore its influence on our tender innocent hours, and beseech the Author of love to bless the rites He has ordained — and mingle with our happiness a just sense of our transient condition, and a resignation to His will, which only can regulate our minds to a steady endeavor to please Him and each other.

"I am forever your faithful servant,

"RICH. STEELE"

Some few hours afterwards, apparently, Mistress Scurlock received the next one — obviously written later in the day! —

"*Saturday Night* (*Aug.* 30, 1707)

"DEAR LOVELY MRS. SCURLOCK, — I have been in very good company, where your health, under the character of *the woman I love best*, has been often

pole, or down to the great men of our own time, if you will, are doctored compositions, and written with an eye suspicious towards posterity. That dedication of Steele's to his wife is an artificial performance, possibly; at least, it is written with that degree of artifice which an orator uses in arranging a statement for the House, or a poet employs in preparing a sentiment in verse or for the stage. But there are some four

drunk; so that I may say that I am dead drunk for your sake, which is more than *I die for you*.

RICH. STEELE"

To Mrs. Scurlock

Sept. 1, 1707

"MADAM, — It is the hardest thing in the world to be in love, and yet attend business. As for me, all who speak to me find me out, and I must lock myself up, or other people will do it for me.

"A gentleman asked me this morning, 'What news from Lisbon?' and I answered, 'She is exquisitely handsome.' Another desired to know 'when I had last been at Hampton Court?' I replied, 'It will be on Tuesday come se'nnight.' Pr'ythee allow me at least to kiss your hand before that day, that my mind may be in some composure. O Love!

"'A thousand torments dwell about thee,
Yet who could live, to live without thee?'

"Methinks I could write a volume to you; but all the language on earth would fail in saying how much, and with what disinterested passion,

"I am ever yours,
"RICH. STEELE"

Two days after this, he is found expounding his circumstances and prospects to the young lady's mamma. He dates from "Lord Sunderland's office, Whitehall;" and states his clear income at £1025 per annum. "I promise myself," says he, "the pleasure of an industrious and virtuous life, in studying to do things agreeable to you."

They were married, according to the most probable conjectures, about the 7th Sept. There are traces of a tiff about the middle of the next month; she being prudish and fidgety, as he was impassioned and reckless. General progress, however, may be seen from the following notes. The "house in Bury Street, Saint James's," was now taken.

To Mrs. Steele

Oct. 16, 1707

"DEAREST BEING ON EARTH, – Pardon me if you do not see me till eleven

hundred letters of Dick Steele's to his wife, which that thrifty woman preserved accurately, and which could have been written but for her and her alone. They contain details of the business, pleasures, quarrels, reconciliations of the pair; they have all the genuineness of conversation; they are as artless as a child's prattle, and as confidential as a curtain

o'clock, having met a schoolfellow from India, by whom I am to be informed on things this night which expressly concern your obedient husband,

"RICH. STEELE"

To Mrs. Steele

"*Eight o'clock, Fountain Tavern:*
"*Oct.* 22, 1707

"MY DEAR, — I beg of you not to be uneasy; for I have done a great deal of business to-day very successfully, and wait an hour or two about my *Gazette*.

Dec. 22, 1707

"MY DEAR, DEAR WIFE, — I write to let you know I do not come home to dinner, being obliged to attend some business abroad, of which I shall give you an account (when I see you in the evening), as becomes your dutiful and obedient husband."

"DEVIL TAVERN, TEMPLE BAR:
"*Jan.* 3, 1707–08

"DEAR PRUE, — I have partly succeeded in my business to-day, and inclose two guineas as earnest of more. Dear Prue, I cannot come home to dinner. I languish for your welfare, and will never be a moment careless more.

"Your faithful husband," &c.

Jan. 14, 1707–08

"DEAR WIFE, — Mr. Edgecombe, Ned Ask, and Mr. Lumley have desired me to sit an hour with them at the 'George' in Pall Mall, for which I desire your patience till twelve o'clock, and that you will go to bed," &c.

"GRAY'S INN: *Feb.* 3, 1708

"DEAR PRUE, — If the man who has my shoemaker's bill calls, let him be answered that I shall call on him as I come home. I stay here in order to get Jonson to discount a bill for me, and shall dine with him for that end. He is expected at home every minute. Your most humble, obedient servant," &c.

"TENNIS-COURT COFFEEHOUSE:
May 5, 1708

"DEAR WIFE, — I hope I have done this day what will be pleasing to you; in the meantime shall lie this night at a baker's, one Leg, over against the 'Devil

lecture. Some are written from the printing office, where he is waiting for the proof sheets of his *Gazette*, or his *Tatler;* some are written from the tavern, whence he promises to come to his wife "within a pint of wine," and where he has given a rendezvous to a friend or a money lender: some are composed in a high state of vinous excitement, when his head is flustered with burgundy, and his heart abounds with amorous warmth for his darling Prue: some are under the influence of the dismal headache and repentance next morning: some, alas, are from the lockup house, where the lawyers have impounded him, and where he is waiting for bail. You trace many years of the poor fellow's career in these letters. In September 1707, from which day she began to save the letters, he married the beautiful Mistress Scurlock. You have his passionate protestations to the lady; his respectful proposals to her mamma; his private prayer to Heaven when the union so ardently desired was completed; his fond professions of contrition and promises of amendment, when, immediately after his

Tavern,' at Charing Cross. I shall be able to confront the fools who wish me uneasy, and shall have the satisfaction to see thee cheerful and at ease.

"If the printer's boy be at home, send him hither; and let Mrs. Todd send by the boy my nightgown, slippers, and clean linen. You shall hear from me early in the morning," &c.

Dozens of similar letters follow, with occasional guineas, little parcels of tea, or walnuts, &c. In 1709 the *Tatler* made its appearance. The following curious note dates April 7th, 1710: —

"I inclose to you ['Dear Prue'] a receipt for the saucepan and spoon, and a note of £23 of Lewis's, which will make up the £50 I promised for your ensuing occasion.

"I know no happiness in this life in any degree comparable to the pleasure I have in your person and society. I only beg of you to add to your other charms a fearfulness to see a man that loves you in pain and uneasiness, to make me as happy as it is possible to be in this life. Rising a little in a morning, and being disposed to a cheerfulness . . . would not be amiss."

In another, he is found excusing his coming home, being "invited to supper to Mr. Boyle's." "Dear Prue," he says on this occasion, "do not send after me, for I shall be ridiculous."

marriage, there began to be just cause for the one and need for the other.

Captain Steele took a house for his lady upon their marriage, "the third door from Germain Street, left hand of Berry Street," and the next year he presented his wife with a country house at Hampton. It appears she had a chariot and pair, and sometimes four horses: he himself enjoyed a little horse for his own riding. He paid, or promised to pay, his barber fifty pounds a year, and always went abroad in a laced coat and a large black buckled periwig, that must have cost somebody fifty guineas. He was rather a well-to-do gentleman, Captain Steele, with the proceeds of his estates in Barbadoes (left to him by his first wife), his income as a writer of the *Gazette*, and his office of gentleman waiter to his Royal Highness Prince George. His second wife brought him a fortune too. But it is melancholy to relate, that with these houses and chariots and horses and income, the Captain was constantly in want of money, for which his beloved bride was asking as constantly. In the course of a few pages we begin to find the shoemaker calling for money, and some directions from the Captain, who has not thirty pounds to spare. He sends his wife, "the beautifullest object in the world," as he calls her, and evidently in reply to applications of her own, which have gone the way of all waste paper, and lighted Dick's pipes, which were smoked a hundred and forty years ago — he sends his wife now a guinea, then a half-guinea, then a couple of guineas, then a half pound of tea; and again no money and no tea at all, but a promise that his darling Prue shall have some in a day or two: or a request, perhaps, that she will send over his nightgown and shaving plate to the temporary lodging where the nomadic Captain is lying, hidden from the bailiffs. Oh that a Christian hero and late Captain in Lucas's should be afraid of a dirty Sheriff's officer! That the pink and pride of chivalry should turn pale before a writ! It stands to

record in poor Dick's own handwriting — the queer collection is preserved at the British Museum to this present day — that the rent of the nuptial house in Jermyn Street, sacred to unutterable tenderness and Prue, and three doors from Bury Street, was not paid until after the landlord had put in an execution on Captain Steele's furniture. Addison sold the house and furniture at Hampton, and, after deducting the sum which his incorrigible friend was indebted to him, handed over the residue of the proceeds of the sale to poor Dick, who wasn't in the least angry at Addison's summary proceeding, and I dare say was very glad of any sale or execution, the result of which was to give him a little ready money. Having a small house in Jermyn Street for which he couldn't pay, and a country house at Hampton on which he had borrowed money, nothing must content Captain Dick but the taking, in 1712, a much finer, larger, and grander house in Bloomsbury Square: where his unhappy landlord got no better satisfaction than his friend in Saint James's, and where it is recorded that Dick, giving a grand entertainment, had a half-dozen queer-looking fellows in livery to wait upon his noble guests, and confessed that his servants were bailiffs to a man. "I fared like a distressed prince," the kindly prodigal writes, generously complimenting Addison for his assistance in the *Tatler*, — "I fared like a distressed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbor to his aid. I was undone by my auxiliary; when I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him." Poor needy Prince of Bloomsbury! think of him in his palace with his allies from Chancery Lane ominously guarding him.

All sorts of stories are told indicative of his recklessness and his good humor. One narrated by Doctor Hoadly is exceedingly characteristic; it shows the life of the time; and our poor friend very weak, but very kind both in and out of his cups.

"My father," says Doctor John Hoadly, the Bishop's son, "when Bishop of Bangor, was, by invitation, present at one of the Whig meetings, held at the 'Trumpet,' in Shire Lane, when Sir Richard, in his zeal, rather exposed himself, having the double duty of the day upon him, as well to celebrate the immortal memory of King William, it being the 4th November, as to drink his friend Addison up to conversation pitch, whose phlegmatic constitution was hardly warmed for society by that time. Steele was not fit for it. Two remarkable circumstances happened. John Sly, the hatter of facetious memory, was in the house; and John, pretty mellow, took it into his head to come into the company on his knees, with a tankard of ale in his hand to drink off to the *immortal memory*, and to return in the same manner. Steele, sitting next my father, whispered him — *Do laugh. It is humanity to laugh.* Sir Richard, in the evening, being too much in the same condition, was put into a chair, and sent home. Nothing would serve him but being carried to the Bishop of Bangor's, late as it was. However, the chairman carried him home, and got him upstairs, when his great complaisance would wait on them downstairs, which he did, and then was got quietly to bed."*

There is another amusing story which, I believe, that renowned collector, Mr. Joseph Miller, or his successors, have incorporated into their work. Sir Richard Steele, at a time when he was much occupied with theatrical affairs, built himself a pretty private theater, and before it was opened to his friends and guests, was anxious to try whether the hall was well adapted for hearing. Accordingly he placed himself in the most remote part of the gallery, and begged the car-

* Of this famous Bishop, Steele wrote —

"Virtue with so much ease on Bangor sits,
All faults he pardons, though he none commits."

This couplet was sent to Hoadly next day in an apologetic letter.

penter who had built the house to speak up from the stage. The man at first said that he was unaccustomed to public speaking, and did not know what to say to his honor; but the good-natured knight called out to him to say whatever was uppermost; and, after a moment, the carpenter began, in a voice perfectly audible: "Sir Richard Steele!" he said, "for three months past me and my men has been a working in this theater, and we've never seen the color of your honor's money: we will be very much obliged if you'll pay it directly, for until you do we won't drive in another nail." Sir Richard said that his friend's elocution was perfect, but that he didn't like his subject much.

The great charm of Steele's writing is its naturalness. He wrote so quickly and carelessly that he was forced to make the reader his confidant, and had not the time to deceive him. He had a small share of book learning, but a vast acquaintance with the world. He had known men and taverns. He had lived with gownsmen, with troopers, with gentlemen ushers of the Court, with men and women of fashion; with authors and wits, with the inmates of the spunging-houses, and with the frequenters of all the clubs and coffeehouses in the town. He was liked in all company because he liked it; and you like to see his enjoyment as you like to see the glee of a boxful of children at the pantomime. He was not of those lonely ones of the earth whose greatness obliged them to be solitary; on the contrary, he admired, I think, more than any man who ever wrote; and full of hearty applause and sympathy, wins upon you by calling you to share his delight and good-humor. His laugh rings through the whole house. He must have been invaluable at a tragedy, and have cried as much as the most tender young lady in the boxes. He has a relish for beauty and goodness wherever he meets it. He admired Shakespeare affectionately, and more than any man of his time: and according to his generous expansive nature, called

upon all his company to like what he liked himself. He did not damn with faint praise: he was in the world and of it; and his enjoyment of life presents the strangest contrast to Swift's savage indignation and Addison's lonely serenity.*

* Here we have some of his later letters: —

To Lady Steele

"Hampton Court: *March* 16, 1716–17

"Dear Prue, — If you have written anything to me which I should have received last night, I beg your pardon that I cannot answer till the next post. . . . Your son at the present writing is mighty well employed in tumbling on the floor of the room, and sweeping the sand with a feather. He grows a most delightful child, and very full of play and spirit. He is also a very great scholar: he can read his primer; and I have brought down my Virgil. He makes most shrewd remarks about the pictures. We are very intimate friends and playfellows. He begins to be very ragged; and I hope I shall be pardoned if I equip him with new clothes and frocks, or what Mrs. Evans and I shall think for his service."

To Lady Steele

[Undated]

"You tell me you want a little flattery from me. I assure you I know no one who deserves so much commendation as yourself, and to whom saying the best things would be so little like flattery. The thing speaks for itself, considering you as a very handsome woman that loves retirement — one who does not want wit, and yet is extremely sincere; and so I could go through all the vices which attend the good qualities of other people, of which you are exempt, But, indeed, though you have every perfection, you have an extravagant fault, which almost frustrates the good in you to me; and that is, that you do not love to dress, to appear, to shine out, even at my request, and to make me proud of you, or rather to indulge the pride I have that you are mine. . . .

"Your most affectionate obsequious husband,

"Richard Steele

"A quarter of Molly's schooling is paid. The children are perfectly well."

To Lady Steele

"*March* 26, 1717

"My dearest Prue, — I have received yours, wherein you give me the sensible affliction of telling me enow of the continual pain in your head. . . . When I lay in your place, and on your pillow, I assure you I fell into tears last night, to think that my charming little insolent might be then awake and in pain; and took it to be a sin to go to sleep.

"For this tender passion towards you, I must be contented that your *Prueship* will condescend to call yourself my well-wisher. . . ."

At the time when the above later letters were written, Lady Steele was in

Permit me to read to you a passage from each writer, curiously indicative of his peculiar humor: the subject is the same, and the mood the very gravest. We have said that upon all the actions of man, the most trifling and the most solemn, the humorist takes upon himself to comment. All readers of our old masters know the terrible lines of Swift, in which he hints at his philosophy and describes the end of mankind: * —

"Amazed, confused, its fate unknown,
The world stood trembling at Jove's throne
While each pale sinner hung his head,
Jove, nodding, shook the heavens and said:
'Offending race of human kind,
By nature, reason, learning, blind;
You who through frailty stepped aside,
And you who never err'd through pride;
You who in different sects were shamm'd,
And come to see each other damn'd;
(So some folk told you, but they knew
No more of Jove's designs than you;)
The world's mad business now is o'er,
And I resent your freaks no more;
I to such blockheads set my wit,
I damn such fools — go, go, you're bit!'"

Addison speaking on the very same theme, but with how different a voice, says, in his famous paper on Westminster Abbey (*Spectator*, No. 26): —

"For my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy, and can therefore take a view of nature in her deep and solemn scenes, with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. When I

Wales, looking after her estate there. Steele, about this time, was much occupied with a project for conveying fish alive, by which, as he constantly assures his wife, he firmly believed he should make his fortune. It did not succeed, however.

Lady Steele died in December of the succeeding year. She lies buried in Westminster Abbey.

* Lord Chesterfield sends these verses to Voltaire in a characteristic letter.

look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents on a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those we must quickly follow."

(I have owned that I do not think Addison's heart melted very much, or that he indulged very inordinately in the "vanity of grieving.")

"When," he goes on, "when I see kings lying by those who deposed them: when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes — I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. And, when I read the several dates on the tombs of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together."

Our third humorist comes to speak on the same subject. You will have observed in the previous extracts the characteristic humor of each writer — the subject and the contrast — the fact of Death, and the play of individual thought by which each comments on it, and now hear the third writer — death, sorrow, and the grave, being for the moment also his theme.

"The first sense of sorrow I ever knew," Steele says in the *Tatler*, "was upon the death of my father, at which time I was not quite five years of age: but was rather amazed at what all the house meant, than possessed of a real understanding why nobody would play with us. I remember I went into the room where his body lay, and my mother sat weeping alone by it. I had my battledore in my hand, and fell a beating the coffin and calling papa; for, I know not how, I

had some idea that he was locked up there. My mother caught me in her arms, and, transported beyond all patience of the silent grief she was before in, she almost smothered me in her embraces, and told me in a flood of tears, 'Papa could not hear me, and would play with me no more: for they were going to put him under ground, whence he would never come to us again.' She was a very beautiful woman, of a noble spirit, and there was a dignity in her grief, amidst all the wildness of her transport, which methought struck me with an instinct of sorrow that, before I was sensible what it was to grieve, seized my very soul, and has made pity the weakness of my heart ever since."

Can there be three more characteristic moods of minds and men? "Fools, do you know anything of this mystery?" says Swift, stamping on a grave, and carrying his scorn for mankind actually beyond it. "Miserable purblind wretches, how dare you to pretend to comprehend the Inscrutable, and how can your dim eyes pierce the unfathomable depths of yonder boundless heaven?" Addison, in a much kinder language and gentler voice, utters much the same sentiment: and speaks of the rivalry of wits, and the contests of holy men, with the same skeptic placidity. "Look what a little vain dust we are," he says, smiling over the tombstones; and catching, as is his wont, quite a divine effulgence as he looks heavenward, he speaks, in words of inspiration almost, of "the Great Day, when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together."

The third, whose theme is Death, too, and who will speak his word of moral as Heaven teaches him, leads you up to his father's coffin, and shows you his beautiful mother weeping, and himself an unconscious little boy wondering at her side. His own natural tears flow as he takes your hand and confidingly asks your sympathy. "See how good and innocent

and beautiful women are," he says; "how tender little children! Let us love these and one another, brother — God knows we have need of love and pardon." So it is each looks with his own eyes, speaks with his own voice, and prays his own prayer.

When Steele asks your sympathy for the actors in that charming scene of Love and Grief and Death, who can refuse it? One yields to it as to the frank advance of a child, or to the appeal of a woman. A man is seldom more manly than when he is what you call unmanned — the source of his emotion is championship, pity, and courage; the instinctive desire to cherish those who are innocent and unhappy, and defend those who are tender and weak. If Steele is not our friend he is nothing. He is by no means the most brilliant of wits nor the deepest of thinkers: but he is our friend: we love him, as children love with an A, because he is amiable. Who likes a man best because he is the cleverest or the wisest of mankind; or a woman because she is the most virtuous, or talks French or plays the piano better than the rest of her sex? I own to liking Dick Steele the man, and Dick Steele the author, much better than much better men and much better authors.

The misfortune regarding Steele is, that most part of the company here present must take his amiability upon hearsay, and certainly can't make his intimate acquaintance. Not that Steele was worse than his time; on the contrary, a far better, truer, and higher-hearted man than most who lived in it. But things were done in that society, and names were named, which would make you shudder now. What would be the sensation of a polite youth of the present day, if at a ball he saw the young object of his affections taking a box out of her pocket and a pinch of snuff: or if at dinner, by the charmer's side, she deliberately put her knife into her mouth? If she cut her mother's throat with it, mamma would scarcely

be more shocked. I allude to these peculiarities of bygone times as an excuse for my favorite Steele, who was not worse, and often much more delicate, than his neighbors.

There exists a curious document* descriptive of the manners of the last age, which describes most minutely the amusements and occupations of persons of fashion in London at the time of which we are speaking; the time of Swift, and Addison, and Steele.

When Lord Sparkish, Tom Neverout, and Colonel Alwit, the immortal personages of Swift's polite conversation, came to breakfast with my Lady Smart, at eleven o'clock in the morning, my Lord Smart was absent at the levée. His Lordship was at home to dinner at three o'clock to receive his guests; and we may sit down to this meal, like the Barmecide's, and see the fops of the last century before us. Seven of them sat down at dinner, and were joined by a country baronet who told them they kept Court hours. These persons of fashion began their dinner with a sirloin of beef, fish, a shoulder of veal, and a tongue. My Lady Smart carved the sirloin, my Lady Answerall helped the fish, and the gallant Colonel cut the shoulder of veal. All made a considerable inroad on the sirloin and the shoulder of veal with the exception of Sir John, who had no appetite, having already partaken of a beefsteak and two mugs of ale, besides a tankard of March beer as soon as he got out of bed. They drank claret, which the master of the house said should always be drunk after fish; and my Lord Smart particularly recommended some excellent cider to my Lord Sparkish, which occasioned some brilliant remarks from that nobleman. When the host called for wine, he nodded to one or other of his guests, and said, "Tom Neverout, my service to you."

After the first course came almond pudding, fritters, which the Colonel took with his hands out of the dish, in order to

* Swift's "Polite Conversation."

help the brilliant Miss Notable; chickens, black puddings, and soup; and Lady Smart, the elegant mistress of the mansion, finding a skewer in a dish, placed it in her plate with directions that it should be carried down to the cook and dressed for the cook's own dinner. Wine and small beer were drunk during the second course; and when the Colonel called for beer, he called the butler Friend, and asked whether the beer was good. Various jocular remarks passed from the gentlefolk to the servants; at breakfast several persons had a word and a joke for Mrs. Betty, my Lady's maid, who warmed the cream and had charge of the canister (the tea cost thirty shillings a pound in those days). When my Lady Sparkish sent her footman out to my Lady Match to come at six o'clock and play at quadrille, her Ladyship warned the man to follow his nose, and if he fell by the way not to stay to get up again. And when the gentlemen asked the hall porter if his lady was at home, that functionary replied, with manly waggishness, "She was at home just now, but she's not gone out yet."

After the puddings, sweet and black, the fritters and soup, came the third course, of which the chief dish was a hot venison pasty, which was put before Lord Smart, and carved by that nobleman. Besides the pasty, there was a hare, a rabbit, some pigeons, partridges, a goose, and a ham. Beer and wine were freely imbibed during this course, the gentlemen always pledging somebody with every glass which they drank; and by this time the conversation between Tom Neverout and Miss Notable had grown so brisk and lively, that the Derbyshire baronet began to think the young gentlewoman was Tom's sweetheart: on which Miss remarked, that she loved Tom "like pie." After the goose, some of the gentlewomen took a dram of brandy, "which was very good for the wholesomes," Sir John said: and now having had a tolerably substantial dinner, honest Lord Smart bade the butler bring up the great tankard full of October to Sir John. The great

tankard was passed from hand to hand and mouth to mouth, but when pressed by the noble host upon the gallant Tom Neverout, he said, "No, faith, my Lord; I like your wine, and won't put a churl upon a gentleman. Your honor's claret is good enough for me." And so, the dinner over, the host said, "Hang saving, bring us up a ha'porth of cheese."

The cloth was now taken away, and a bottle of burgundy was set down, of which the ladies were invited to partake before they went to their tea. When they withdrew, the gentlemen promised to join them in an hour: fresh bottles were brought; the "dead men," meaning the empty bottles, removed; and "D'you hear, John! bring clean glasses," my Lord Smart said. On which the gallant Colonel Alwit said "I'll keep my glass; for wine is the best liquor to wash glasses in."

After an hour the gentlemen joined the ladies, and then they all sat and played quadrille until three o'clock in the morning, when the chairs and the flambeaux came, and this noble company went to bed.

Such were manners six or seven score years ago. I draw no inference from this queer picture — let all moralists here present deduce their own. Fancy the moral condition of that society in which a lady of fashion joked with a footman, and carved a sirloin, and provided besides a great shoulder of veal, a goose, hare, rabbit, chickens, partridges, black puddings, and a ham for a dinner for eight Christians. What — what could have been the condition of that polite world in which people openly ate goose after almond pudding, and took their soup in the middle of dinner? Fancy a Colonel in the Guards putting his hand into a dish of *beignets d'abricot* and helping his neighbor, a young lady *du monde!* Fancy a noble lord calling out to the servants, before the ladies at his table, "Hang expense, bring us a ha'porth of cheese!" Such were the ladies of Saint James's — such were the fre-

quenters of "White's Chocolate House," when Swift used to visit it, and Steele described it as the center of pleasure, gallantry, and entertainment, a hundred and forty years ago!

Dennis, who ran amuck at the literary society of his day, falls foul of poor Steele, and thus depicts him: —

"Sir John Edgar, of the county of —— in Ireland, is of a middle stature, broad shoulders, thick legs, a shape like the picture of somebody over a farmer's chimney — a short chin, a short nose, a short forehead, a broad flat face, and a dusky countenance. Yet with such a face and such a shape, he discovered at sixty that he took himself for a beauty, and appeared to be more mortified at being told that he was ugly, than he was by any reflection made upon his honor or understanding.

"He is a gentleman born, witness himself, of very honorable family; certainly of a very ancient one, for his ancestors flourished in Tipperary long before the English ever set foot in Ireland. He has testimony of this more authentic than the Herald's Office, or any human testimony. For God has marked him more abundantly than he did Cain, and stamped his native country on his face, his understanding, his writings, his actions, his passions, and, above all, his vanity. The Hibernian brogue is still upon all these, though long habit and length of days have worn it off his tongue." *

Although this portrait is the work of a man who was neither the friend of Steele nor of any other man alive, yet there is a

* Steele replied to Dennis in an "Answer to a Whimsical Pamphlet, called the Character of Sir John Edgar." What Steele had to say against the cross-grained old Critic discovers a great deal of humor: —

"Thou never didst let the sun into thy garret, for fear he should bring a bailiff along with him. . . .

"Your years are about sixty-five, an ugly vinegar face, that if you had any command you would be obeyed out of fear, from your ill-nature pictured there; not from any other motive. Your height is about some five feet five inches. You see I can give your exact measure as well as if I had taken your dimension

dreadful resemblance to the original in the savage and exaggerated traits of the caricature, and everybody who knows him must recognize Dick Steele. Dick set about almost all the undertakings of his life with inadequate means, and, as he took and furnished a house with the most generous intentions towards his friends, the most tender gallantry towards his wife, and with this only drawback, that he had not wherewithal to pay the rent when quarter day came, — so, in his life he proposed to himself the most magnificent schemes of virtue, forbearance, public and private good, and the advancement of his own and the national religion; but when he had to pay for these articles — so difficult to purchase and so costly to maintain — poor Dick's money was not forthcoming: and when Virtue called with her little bill, Dick made a shuffling excuse that he could not see her that morning, having a headache from being tipsy overnight: or when stern Duty rapped

with a good cudgel, which I promise you to do as soon as ever I have the good fortune to meet you. . . .

"Your doughty paunch stands before you like a firkin of butter, and your duck legs seem to be cast for carrying burdens.

"Thy works are libels upon others, and satires upon thyself; and while they bark at men of sense, call him fool and knave that wrote them. Thou hast a great antipathy to thy own species; and hatest the sight of a fool but in thy glass."

Steele had been kind to Dennis, and once got arrested on account of a pecuniary service which he did him. When John heard of the fact — "'Sdeath!" cries John; "why did not he keep out of the way as I did?"

The "Answer" concludes by mentioning that Cibber had offered Ten Pounds for the discovery of the authorship of Dennis's pamphlet; on which, says Steele, — "I am only sorry he has offered so much, because the *twentieth part* would have overvalued his whole carcase. But I know the fellow that he keeps to give answers to his creditors will betray him; for he gave me his word to bring officers on the top of the house that should make a hole through the ceiling of his garret, and so bring him to the punishment he deserves. Some people think this expedient out of the way, and that he would make his escape upon hearing the least noise. I say so too; but it takes him up half an hour every night to fortify himself with his old hair trunk, two or three joint stools, and some other lumber, which he ties together with cords so fast that it takes him up the same time in the morning to release himself."

at the door with his account, Dick was absent and not ready to pay. He was shirking at the tavern ; or had some particular business (of somebody's else) at the ordinary ; or he was in hiding, or, worse than in hiding, in the lockup house. What a situation for a man ! — for a philanthropist — for a lover of right and truth — for a magnificent designer and schemer ! Not to dare to look in the face the Religion which he adored and which he had offended : to have to shirk down back lanes and alleys, so as to avoid the friend whom he loved and who had trusted him ; to have the house which he had intended for his wife, whom he loved passionately, and for her Ladyship's company which he wished to entertain splendidly, in the possession of a bailiff's man ; with a crowd of little creditors — grocers, butchers, and small-coal men — lingering round the door with their bills and jeering at him. Alas for poor Dick Steele ! For nobody else, of course. There is no man or woman in *our* time who makes fine projects and gives them up from idleness or want of means. When duty calls upon *us*, we no doubt are always at home and ready to pay that grim taxgatherer. When *we* are stricken with remorse and promise reform, we keep our promise, and are never angry, or idle, or extravagant any more. There are no chambers in *our* hearts, destined for family friends and affections, and now occupied by some Sin's emissary and bailiff in possession. There are no little sins, shabby peccadilloes, importunate remembrances, or disappointed holders of our promises to reform, hovering at our steps, or knocking at our door ! Of course not. We are living in the nineteenth century ; and poor Dick Steele stumbled and got up again, and got into jail and out again, and sinned and repented, and loved and suffered, and lived and died, scores of years ago. Peace be with him ! Let us think gently of one who was so gentle : let us speak kindly of one whose own breast exuberated with human kindness.

PRIOR, GAY, AND POPE

Matthew Prior was one of those famous and lucky wits of the auspicious reign of Queen Anne, whose name it behooves us not to pass over. Mat was a world philosopher of no small genius, good nature, and acumen.* He loved, he drank,

* Gay calls him — "Dear Prior . . . beloved by every muse." — *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece.*

Swift and Prior were very intimate, and he is frequently mentioned in the 'Journal to Stella." "Mr. Prior," says Swift, "walks to make himself fat, and I to keep myself down. . . . We often walk round the park together."

In Swift's works there is a curious tract called *Remarks on the Characters of the Court of Queen Anne* [Scott's edition, vol. xii.]. The "Remarks" are not by the Dean; but at the end of each is an addition in italics from his hand, and these are always characteristic. Thus, to the Duke of Marlborough, he adds "*Detestably covetous,*" &c. Prior is thus noticed —

"*Matthew Prior, Esquire, Commissioner of Trade*

"On the Queen's accession to the throne, he was continued in his office; is very well at Court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of my Lord Jersey's, whom he supports by his advice; is one of the best poets in England, but very facetious in conversation. A thin hollow-looked man, turned of forty years old. *This is near the truth.*"

"Yet counting as far as to fifty his years,
His virtues and vices were as other men's are.
High hopes he conceived and he smothered great fears,
In a life party-colored — half pleasure, half care.

"Not to business a drudge, nor to faction a slave,
He strove to make interest and freedom agree;
In public employments industrious and grave,
And alone with his friends, Lord, how merry was he

"Now in equipage stately, now humble on foot,
Both fortunes he tried, but to neither would trust;
And whirled in the round as the wheel turned about,
He found riches had wings, and knew man was but dust."

— PRIOR'S *Poems.* [*For my own monument.*]

he sang. He describes himself, in one of his lyrics, "in a little Dutch chaise on a Saturday night; on his left hand his Horace, and a friend on his right," going out of town from the Hague to pass that evening and the ensuing Sunday boozing at a Spielhaus with his companions, perhaps bobbing for perch in a Dutch canal, and noting down, in a strain and with a grace not unworthy of his Epicurean master, the charms of his idleness, his retreat, and his Batavian Chloe. A vintner's son* in Whitehall, and a distinguished pupil of Busby of the Rod, Prior attracted some notice by writing verses at Saint John's College, Cambridge, and, coming up to town, aided Montague† in an attack on the noble old English lion John Dryden; in ridicule of whose work, "The Hind and the Panther," he brought out that remarkable and famous burlesque, "The Town and Country Mouse." Aren't you all acquainted with it? Have you not all got it by heart? What! have you never heard of it? See what fame is made of! The wonderful part of the satire was, that, as a natural consequence of "The Town and Country Mouse," Matthew Prior was made Secretary of Embassy at the Hague! I believe it is dancing, rather than singing, which distinguishes the young English diplomatists of the present day; and have seen them in various parts perform that part of their duty very finely. In Prior's time it appears a different accomplishment led to preferment.‡ Could you write a copy of Alcaics? that was the question. Could you turn out a neat

* [He was a joiner's son. His uncle was a vintner, and kept the Rhenish Wine House in Channel (now Cannon) Row, Westminster.]

† "They joined to produce a parody, entitled *The Town and Country Mouse*, part of which Mr. Bayes is supposed to gratify his old friends, Smart and Johnson, by repeating to them. The piece is therefore founded upon the twice-told jest of the 'Rehearsal.' . . . There is nothing new or original in the idea. . . . In this piece, Prior, though the younger man, seems to have had by far the largest share." — SCOTT'S *Dryden*, vol. i. p. 330.

‡ [It is doubtful, however, whether Prior's appointment had much to do with his literary reputation.]

epigram or two? Could you compose "The Town and Country Mouse"? It is manifest that, by the possession of this faculty, the most difficult treaties, the laws of foreign nations, and the interests of our own, are easily understood. Prior rose in the diplomatic service, and said good things that proved his sense and his spirit. When the apartments at Versailles were shown to him, with the victories of Louis XIV painted on the walls, and Prior was asked whether the palace of the King of England had any such decorations, "The monuments of my master's actions," Mat said, of William, whom he cordially revered, "are to be seen everywhere except in his own house." Bravo, Mat! Prior rose to be full ambassador at Paris,* where he somehow was cheated out of his ambassadorial plate; and in an heroic poem, addressed by him to her late lamented Majesty, Queen Anne, Mat makes some magnificent allusions to these dishes and spoons, of which Fate had deprived him. All that he wants, he says, is her Majesty's picture; without that he can't be happy.

"Thee, gracious Anne, thee present I adore:
Thee, Queen of Peace, if Time and Fate have power
Higher to raise the glories of thy reign,
In words sublimer and a nobler strain
May future bards the mighty theme rehearse.
Here, Stator Jove, and Phœbus, king of verse,
The votive tablet I suspend."

* "He was to have been in the same commission with the Duke of Shrewsbury, but that that nobleman," says Johnson, "refused to be associated with one so meanly born. Prior therefore continued to act without a title till the Duke's return next year to England, and then he assumed the style and dignity of ambassador."

He had been thinking of slights of this sort when he wrote his Epitaph:

"Nobles and heralds, by your leave,
Here lies what once was Matthew Prior,
The son of Adam and of Eve:
Can Bourbon or Nassau claim higher?"

But, in this case, the old prejudice got the better of the old joke.

With that word the poem stops abruptly. The votive tablet is suspended forever, like Mahomet's coffin. News came that the Queen was dead. Stator Jove, and Phœbus, king of verse, were left there, hovering to this day, over the votive tablet. The picture was never got, any more than the spoons and dishes: the inspiration ceased, the verses were not wanted — the ambassador wasn't wanted. Poor Mat was recalled from his embassy, suffered disgrace along with his patrons, lived under a sort of cloud ever after, and disappeared in Essex. When deprived of all his pensions and emoluments, the hearty and generous Oxford pensioned him.* They played for gallant stakes — the bold men of those days — and lived and gave splendidly.

Johnson quotes from Spence a legend, that Prior, after spending an evening with Harley, St. John, Pope, and Swift, would go off and smoke a pipe with a couple of friends of his, a soldier and his wife, in Long Acre. Those who have not read his late Excellency's poems should be warned that they smack not a little of the conversation of his Long Acre friends. Johnson speaks slightingly of his lyrics; but with due deference to the great Samuel, Prior's seem to me amongst the easiest, the richest, the most charmingly humorous of English lyrical poems.† Horace is always in his mind; and his

*[Prior's poems published (in folio) by subscription brought him £4000. Lord Harley (not his father, the Earl of Oxford) added £4000 to this for the purchase of an estate (Down Hall) in Essex.]

† His epigrams have the genuine sparkle:

The Remedy worse than the Disease

"I sent for Radcliff; was so ill,
That other doctors gave me over:
He felt my pulse, prescribed his pill,
And I was likely to recover.

"But when the wit began to wheeze,
And wine had warmed the politician,

song, and his philosophy, his good sense, his happy easy turns and melody, his loves and his Epicureanism bear a great resemblance to that most delightful and accomplished master. In reading his works one is struck with their modern air, as well as by their happy similarity to the songs of the charming owner of the Sabine farm. In his verses addressed to Halifax, he says, writing of that endless theme to poets, the vanity of human wishes —

"So whilst in fevered dreams we sink,
And waking, taste what we desire,
The real draught but feeds the fire,
The dream is better than the drink.

Our hopes like towering falcons aim
At objects in an airy height:
To stand aloof and view the flight,
Is all the pleasure of the game."

Would not you fancy that a poet of our own days* was

Cured yesterday of my disease,
I died last night of my physician."

"Yes, every poet is a fool;
By demonstration Ned can show it;
Happy could Ned's inverted rule
Prove every fool to be a poet."

"On his deathbed poor Lubin lies,
His spouse is in despair;
With frequent sobs and mutual cries
They both express their care.

"'A different cause,' says Parson Sly,
'The same effect may give;
Poor Lubin fears that he shall die,
His wife that he may live.'"

* [Thackeray, however, has ingeniously transposed the order of these verses, which, in the original, are not in the meter made familiar by a poet of our own days.]

singing? and in the verses of Chloe weeping and reproaching him for his inconstancy, where he says —

"The God of us versemen, you know, child, the Sun,
How, after his journeys, he sets up his rest.
If at morning o'er earth 'tis his fancy to run,
At night he declines on his Thetis's breast.

"So, when I am wearied with wandering all day,
To thee, my delight, in the evening I come:
No matter what beauties I saw in my way,
They were but my visits, but thou art my home!

"Then finish, dear Chloe, this pastoral war,
And let us like Horace and Lydia agree:
For thou art a girl as much brighter than her,
As he was a poet sublimer than me."

If Prior read Horace, did not Thomas Moore study Prior? Love and pleasure find singers in all days. Roses are always blowing and fading — to-day as in that pretty time when Prior sang of them, and of Chloe lamenting their decay —

"She sighed, she smiled, and to the flowers
Pointing, the lovely moralist said:
See, friend, in some few fleeting hours,
See yonder what a change is made!

"Ah me! the blooming pride of May
And that of Beauty are but one:
At morn both flourish, bright and gay,
Both fade at evening, pale and gone.

"At dawn poor Stella danced and sung,
The amorous youth around her bowed:
At night her fatal knell was rung;
I saw, and kissed her in her shroud.

"Such as she is who died to-day,
Such I, alas, may be to-morrow:
Go, Damon, bid thy Muse display
The justice of thy Chloe's sorrow."

Damon's knell was rung in 1721. May his turf lie lightly on him! "Deus sit propitius huic potatori," as Walter de Mapes sang.* Perhaps Samuel Johnson, who spoke slight-

** Prior to Sir Thomas Hanmer*

"*Aug.* 4, 1709

"DEAR SIR, — Friendship may live, I grant you, without being fed and cherished by correspondence; but with that additional benefit I am of opinion it will look more cheerful and thrive better: for in this case, as in love, though a man is sure of his own constancy, yet his happiness depends a good deal upon the sentiments of another, and while you and Chole are alive, 'tis not enough that I love you both, except I am sure you both love me again; and as one of her scrawls fortifies my mind more against affliction than all Epictetus, with Simplicius's comments into the bargain, so your single letter gave me more real pleasure than all the works of Plato. . . . I must return my answer to your very kind question concerning my health. The Bath waters have done a good deal towards the recovery of it, and the great specific, *Cape caballum*, will, I think, confirm it. Upon this head I must tell you that my mare Betty grows blind, and may one day, by breaking my neck, perfect my cure: if at Rixham fair any pretty nagg that is between thirteen and fourteen hands presented himself, and you would be pleased to purchase him for me, one of your servants might ride him to Euston, and I might receive him there. This, sir, is just as such a thing happens. If you hear, too, of a Welch widow, with a good jointure, that has her *goings* and is not very skittish, pray be pleased to cast your eye on her for me too. You see, sir, the great trust I repose in your skill and honor, when I dare put two such commissions in your hand. . . ." *The Hanmer Correspondence*, p. 120.

From Mr. Prior

"PARIS: *1st–12th May*, 1714

"MY DEAR LORD AND FRIEND, — Matthew never had so great occasion to write a word to Henry as now: it is noised here that I am soon to return. The question that I wish I could answer to the many that ask, and to our friend Colbert de Torcy (to whom I made your compliments in the manner you commanded) is, what is done for me; and to what I am recalled? It may look like a bagatelle, what is to become of a philosopher like me? but it is not such: what is to become of a person who had the honor to be chosen, and sent hither as intrusted, in the midst of a war, with what the Queen designed should make the peace; returning with the Lord Bolingbroke, one of the greatest men in England, and one of the finest heads in Europe (as they say here, if true or not, *n'importe*); having been left by him in the greatest character (that of her Majesty's Plenipotentiary), exercising that power conjointly with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and solely after his departure; having here received more distinguished honor than any Minister, except an Ambassador, ever did, and some which were never given to any but who had that character; having had all the

ingly of Prior's verses, enjoyed them more than he was willing to own. The old moralist had studied them as well as Mr. Thomas Moore, and defended them and showed that he re-

success that could be expected; having (God be thanked!) spared no pains, at a time when at home the peace is voted safe and honorable — at a time when the Earl of Oxford is Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke First Secretary of State? This unfortunate person, I say, neglected, forgot, unnamed to anything that may speak the Queen satisfied with his services, or his friends concerned as to his fortune.

"Mr. de Torcy put me quite out of countenance, the other day, by a pity that wounded me deeper than ever did the cruelty of the late Lord Godolphin. He said he would write to Robin and Harry about me. God forbid, my Lord, that I should need any foreign intercession, or owe the least to any Frenchman living, besides the decency of behavior and the returns of common civility: some say I am to go to Baden, others that I am to be added to the Commissioners for settling the commerce. In all cases I am ready, but in the meantime, *dic aliquid de tribus capellis*. Neither of these two are, I presume, honors or rewards, neither of them (let me say to my dear Lord Bolingbroke, and let him not be angry with me) are what Drift may aspire to, and what Mr. Whitworth, who was his fellow-clerk, has or may possess. I am far from desiring to lessen the great merit of the gentleman I named, for I heartily esteem and love him; but in this trade of ours, my Lord, in which you are the general, as in that of the soldiery, there is a certain right acquired by time and long service. You would do anything for your Queen's service, but you would not be contented to descend, and be degraded to a charge, no way proportioned to that of Secretary of State, any more than Mr. Ross, though he would charge a party with a halbard in his hand, would be content all his life after to be Serjeant. Was my Lord Dartmouth, from Secretary, returned again to be Commissioner of Trade, or from Secretary of War, would Frank Gwyn think himself kindly used to be returned again to be Commissioner? In short, my Lord, you have put me above myself, and if I am to return to myself, I shall return to something very discontented and uneasy. I am sure, my Lord, you will make the best use you can of this hint for my good. If I am to have anything, it will certainly be for her Majesty's service, and the credit of my friends in the Ministry, that it be done before I am recalled from home, lest the world may think either that I have merited to be disgraced, or that ye dare not stand by me. If nothing is to be done, *fiat voluntas Dei*. I have writ to Lord Treasurer upon this subject, and having implored your kind intercession, I promise you it is the last remonstrance of this kind that I will ever make. Adieu, my Lord, all honor, health, and pleasure to you.

"Yours ever, MATT

"*P.S.* — Lady Jersey is just gone from me. We drank your healths together in usquebaugh after our tea: we are the greatest friends alive. Once more adieu. There is no such thing as the 'Book of Travels' you mentioned; if there be,

membered them very well too, on an occasion when their morality was called in question by that noted puritan, James Boswell, Esquire, of Auchinleck.*

In the great society of the wits, John Gay deserved to be a favorite, and to have a good place.† In his set all were fond of him. His success offended nobody. He missed a fortune once or twice. He was talked of for Court favor, and hoped to win it; but the Court favor jilted him. Craggs gave him some South Sea stock; and at one time Gay had very nearly made his fortune. But Fortune shook her swift wings and jilted him too: and so his friends, instead of being angry with

let friend Tilson send us more particular account of them, for neither I nor Jacob Tonson can find them. Pray send Barton back to me, I hope with some comfortable tidings." — *Bolingbroke's Letters.*

* "I asked whether Prior's poems were to be printed entire; Johnson said they were. I mentioned Lord Hales's censure of Prior in his preface to a collection of sacred poems, by various hands, published by him at Edinburgh a great many years ago, where he mentions 'these impure tales, which will be the eternal opprobrium of their ingenious author.' JOHNSON: 'Sir, Lord Hales has forgot. There is nothing in Prior that will excite to lewdness. If Lord Hales thinks there is, he must be more combustible than other people.' I instanced the tale of 'Paulo Purganti and his wife.' JOHNSON: 'Sir, there is nothing there but that his wife wanted to be kissed, when poor Paulo was out of pocket. No, sir, Prior is a lady's book. No lady is ashamed to have it standing in her library." — BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson.*

† Gay was of an old Devonshire family, but his pecuniary prospects not being great, was placed in his youth in the house of a silk-mercer in London. He was born in 1688 — Pope's year [It has been lately shown that Gay was born in 1685], and in 1712 the Duchess of Monmouth made him her secretary. Next year he published his *Rural Sports*, which he dedicated to Pope, and so made an acquaintance which became a memorable friendship.

"Gay," says Pope, "was quite a natural man, — wholly without art or design, and spoke just what he thought and as he thought it. He dangled for twenty years about a Court, and at last was offered to be made usher to the young princesses. Secretary Craggs made Gay a present of stock in the South Sea year; and he was once worth £20,000, but lost it all again. He got about £400 by the first 'Beggar's Opera,' and £1100 or £1200 by the second. He was negligent and a bad manager. Latterly, the Duke of Queensberry took his money into his keeping, and let him only have what was necessary out of it, and, as he lived with them, he could not have occasion for much. He died worth upwards of £3000." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

him, and jealous of him, were kind and fond of honest Gay. In the portraits of the literary worthies of the early part of the last century, Gay's face is the pleasantest perhaps of all. It appears adorned with neither periwig nor nightcap (the full dress and *négligé* of learning, without which the painters of those days scarcely ever portrayed wits), and he laughs at you over his shoulder with an honest boyish glee — an artless sweet humor. He was so kind, so gentle, so jocular, so delightfully brisk at times, so dismally woebegone at others, such a natural good creature, that the Giants loved him. The great Swift was gentle and sportive with him,* as the enormous Brobdingnag maids of honor were with little Gulliver. He could frisk and fondle round Pope,† and sport, and bark, and caper, without offending the most thin-skinned of poets and men; and when he was jilted in that little Court affair of which we have spoken, his warm-hearted patrons the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry‡ (the "Kitty, beauti-

* "Mr. Gay is, in all regards, as honest and sincere a man as ever I knew." — SWIFT, *To Lady Betty Germaine*, Jan. 1733.

† "Of manners gentle, of affections mild;
In wit a man; simplicity, a child;
With native humor temp'ring virtuous rage,
Form'd to delight at once and lash the age;
Above temptation in a low estate,
And uncorrupted e'en among the great:
A safe companion, and an easy friend,
Unblamed through life, lamented in thy end.
These are thy honors; not that here thy bust
Is mixed with heroes, or with kings thy dust;
But that the worthy and the good shall say,
Striking their pensive bosoms, '*Here* lies Gay.'"
— POPE'S *Epitaph on Gay*.

"A hare who in a civil way,
Complied with everything, like Gay."
— *Fables*, "*The Hare and many Friends*."

‡ "I can give you no account of Gay," says Pope curiously, "since he was raffled for, and won back by his Duchess." — *Works, Roscoe's ed.*, vol. ix. p. 392. Here is the letter Pope wrote to him when the death of Queen Anne brought

fu! and young," of Prior) pleaded his cause with indignation, and quitted the Court in a huff, carrying off with them into

back Lord Clarendon from Hanover, and lost him the Secretaryship of that nobleman, of which he had had but a short tenure.

Gay's Court prospects were never happy from this time. — His dedication of the *Shepherd's Week* to Bolingbroke, Swift used to call the "original sin" which had hurt him with the house of Hanover:

"*Sept.* 23, 1714

"Dear Mr. Gay, — Welcome to your native soil! welcome to your friends! thrice welcome to me! whether returned in glory, blest with Court interest, the love and familiarity of the great, and filled with agreeable hopes; or melancholy with dejection, contemplative of the changes of fortune, and doubtful for the future; whether returned a triumphant Whig, or a desponding Tory, equally all hail! equally beloved and welcome to me! If happy, I am to partake in your elevation; if unhappy, you have still a warm corner in my heart, and a retreat at Binfield in the worst of times at your service. If you are a Tory, or thought so by any man, I know it can proceed from nothing but your gratitude to a few people who endeavored to serve you, and whose politics were never your concern. If you are a Whig, as I rather hope, and as I think your principles and mine (as brother poets) had ever a bias to the side of liberty, I know you will be an honest man and an inoffensive one. Upon the whole, I know you are incapable of being so much of either party as to be good for nothing. Therefore, once more, whatever you are or in whatever state you are, all hail!

"One or two of your own friends complained they had heard nothing from you since the Queen's death; I told them no man living loved Mr. Gay better than I, yet I had not once written to him in all his voyage. This I thought a convincing proof how truly one may be a friend to another without telling him so every month. But they had reasons, too, themselves to allege in your excuse, as men who really value one another will never want such as make their friends and themselves easy. The late universal concern in public affairs threw us all into a hurry of spirits: even I, who am more a philosopher than to expect anything from any reign, was borne away with the current, and full of the expectation of the successor. During your journeys, I knew not whither to aim a letter after you; that was a sort of shooting flying: add to this the demand Homer had upon me, to write fifty verses a day, besides learned notes, all which are at a conclusion for this year. Rejoice with me, O my friend! that my labor is over; come and make merry with me in much feasting. We will feed among the lilies (by the lilies I mean the ladies). Are not the Rosalindas of Britain as charming as the Blousalindas of the Hague? or have the two great Pastoral poets of our nation renounced love at the same time? for Philips, immortal Philips, hath deserted, yea, and in a rustic manner kicked his Rosalind. Dr. Parnell and I have been inseparable ever since you went. We are now at the Bath, where (if you are not, as I heartily hope, better engaged) your coming would be the greatest pleasure to us in the world. Talk not of expenses: Homer

their retirement their kind gentle *protégé*. With these kind lordly folks, a real Duke and Duchess, as delightful as those who harbored Don Quixote, and loved that dear old Sancho, Gay lived, and was lapped in cotton, and had his plate of chicken, and his saucer of cream, and frisked, and barked, and wheezed, and grew fat, and so ended.* He became very melancholy and lazy, sadly plethoric, and only occasionally diverting in his latter days. But everybody loved him, and the remembrance of his pretty little tricks; and the raging old Dean of Saint Patrick's, chafing in his banishment, was afraid to open the letter which Pope wrote him announcing the sad news of the death of Gay.†

shall support his children. I beg a line from you, directed to the Post-house in Bath. Poor Parnell is in an ill state of health.

"Pardon me if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write something on the King, or Prince, or Princess. On whatsoever foot you may be with the Court, this can do no harm. I shall never know where to end, and am confounded in the many things I have to say to you, though they all amount but to this, that I am, entirely, as ever,

"Your," &c.

Gay took the advice "in the poetical way," and published "An Epistle to a Lady, occasioned by the arrival of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales." But though this brought him access to Court, and the attendance of the Prince and Princess at his farce of the "What d'ye call it?" it did not bring him a place. On the accession of George II he was offered the situation of Gentleman Usher to the Princess Louisa (her Highness being then two years old); but "by this offer," says Johnson, "he thought himself insulted."

* "Gay was a great eater. — As the French philosopher used to prove his existence by *Cogito, ergo sum*, the greatest proof of Gay's existence is, *Edit, ergo est*." — CONGREVE, *in a letter to Pope. Spence's Anecdotes.*

† Swift indorsed the letter — "On my dear friend Mr. Gay's death; received Dec. 15, but not read till the 20th, by an impulse foreboding some misfortune."

"It was by Swift's interest that Gay was made known to Lord Bolingbroke, and obtained his patronage." — SCOTT'S *Swift*, vol. i. p. 156.

Pope wrote on the occasion of Gay's death, to Swift, thus: —

"[*Dec.* 5, 1732]

". . . One of the nearest and longest ties I have ever had is broken all on a sudden by the unexpected death of poor Mr. Gay. An inflammatory fever hurried him out of this life in three days. . . . He asked of you a few hours before when in acute torment by the inflammation in his bowels and breast. . . . His sisters, we suppose, will be his heirs, who are two widows. . . . . Good God!

Swift's letters to him are beautiful; and having no purpose but kindness in writing to him, no party aim to advocate, or slight or anger to wreak, every word the Dean says to his favorite is natural, trustworthy, and kindly. His admiration for Gay's parts and honesty, and his laughter at his weaknesses, were alike just and genuine. He paints his character in wonderful pleasant traits of jocular satire. "I writ lately to Mr. Pope," Swift says, writing to Gay: "I wish you had a little villakin in his neighborhood; but you are yet too volatile, and any lady with a coach and six horses would carry you to Japan." "If your ramble," says Swift, in another letter, "was on horseback, I am glad of it, on account of your health; but I know your arts of patching up a journey between stagecoaches and friends' coaches — for you are as arrant a cockney as any hosier in Cheapside. I have often had it in my head to put it into yours, that you ought to have some great work in scheme, which may take up seven years to finish, besides two or three under-ones that may add another thousand pounds to your stock. And then I shall be in less pain about you. I know you can find dinners, but you love twelvepenny coaches too well, without considering that the interest of a whole thousand pounds brings you but half a crown a day." And then Swift goes off from Gay to pay some grand compliments to her Grace the Duchess of Queensberry, in whose sunshine Mr. Gay was basking, and in whose radiance the Dean would have liked to warm himself too.

But we have Gay here before us, in these letters — lazy, kindly, uncommonly idle; rather slovenly, I'm afraid; forever eating and saying good things; a little round French abbé of a man, sleek, soft-handed, and soft-hearted.

how often are we to die before we go quite off this stage? In every friend we lose a part of ourselves, and the best part. God keep those we have left! few are worth praying for, and oneself the least of all."

Our object in these lectures is rather to describe the men than their works; or to deal with the latter only in as far as they seem to illustrate the character of their writers. Mr. Gay's "Fables," which were written to benefit that amiable Prince the Duke of Cumberland, the warrior of Dettingen and Culloden, I have not, I own, been able to peruse since a period of very early youth; and it must be confessed that they did not effect much benefit upon the illustrious young Prince, whose manners they were intended to mollify, and whose natural ferocity our gentle-hearted Satirist perhaps proposed to restrain. But the six pastorals called the "Shepherd's Week," and the burlesque poem of "Trivia," any man fond of lazy literature will find delightful at the present day, and must read from beginning to end with pleasure. They are to poetry what charming little Dresden china figures are to sculpture: graceful, minikin, fantastic; with a certain beauty always accompanying them. The pretty little personages of the pastoral, with gold clocks to their stockings, and fresh satin ribbons to their crooks and waistcoats and bodices, danced their loves to a minuet tune played on a bird organ, approach the charmer, or rush from the false one daintily on their red-heeled tiptoes, and die of despair or rapture, with the most pathetic little grins and ogles; or repose, simpering at each other, under an arbor of pea-green crockery; or piping to pretty flocks that have just been washed with the best Naples in a stream of bergamot. Gay's gay plan seems to me far pleasanter than that of Philips — his rival and Pope's — a serious and dreary idyllic cockney; not that Gay's "Bumkinets" and "Hobnelias" are a whit more natural than the would-be serious characters of the other posture-master; but the quality of this true humorist was to laugh and make laugh, though always with a secret kindness and tenderness, to perform the drollest little antics and capers, but always with a certain grace, and to sweet music — as you

may have seen a Savoyard boy abroad, with a hurdy-gurdy and a monkey, turning over head and heels, or clattering and pirouetting in a pair of wooden shoes, yet always with a look of love and appeal in his bright eyes, and a smile that asks and wins affection and protection. Happy they who have that sweet gift of nature! It was this which made the great folk and Court ladies free and friendly with John Gay — which made Pope and Arbuthnot love him — which melted the savage heart of Swift when he thought of him — and drove away, for a moment or two, the dark frenzies which obscured the lonely tyrant's brain, as he heard Gay's voice with its simple melody and artless ringing laughter.

What used to be said about Rubini,* *qu'il avait des larmes dans la voix*, may be said of Gay,† and of one other humorist of whom we shall have to speak. In almost every ballad of his, however slight,‡ in the "Beggar's

* [This was said earlier of Mdlle. Duchesnois of the Théâtre Français, who was not beautiful, but had a most beautiful voice.]

† "Gay, like Goldsmith, had a musical talent. 'He could play on the flute,' says Malone, 'and was, therefore, enabled to adapt so happily some of the airs in the *Beggar's Opera*.'" — *Notes to Spence.*

‡ "'Twas when the seas were roaring
With hollow blasts of wind,
A damsel lay deploring
All on a rock reclined.
Wide o'er the foaming billows
She cast a wistful look;
Her head was crown'd with willows
That trembled o'er the brook.

"'Twelve months are gone and over,
And nine long tedious days;
Why didst thou, venturous lover —
Why didst thou trust the seas?
Cease, cease, thou cruel Ocean,
And let my lover rest;
Ah! what's thy troubled motion
To that within my breast?

Opera"* and in its wearisome continuation (where the verses are to the full as pretty as in the first piece, however), there is a peculiar, hinted, pathetic sweetness and

"'The merchant, robb'd of pleasure,
Sees tempests in despair;
But what's the loss of treasure
To losing of my dear?
Should you some coast be laid on,
Where gold and diamonds grow,
You'd find a richer maiden,
But none that loves you so.

"'How can they say that Nature
Has nothing made in vain;
Why, then, beneath the water
Should hideous rocks remain?
No eyes the rocks discover
That lurk beneath the deep,
To wreck the wandering lover,
And leave the maid to weep?'

"All melancholy lying,
Thus wailed she for her dear;
Repay'd each blast with sighing,
Each billow with a tear;
When o'er the white wave stooping,
His floating corpse she spy'd;
Then like a lily drooping,
She bow'd her head, and died."

— *A Ballad from the "What d'ye call it?"*

"What can be prettier than Gay's ballad, or, rather, Swift's, Arbuthnot's, Pope's, and Gay's, in the 'What d'ye call it?' 'Twas when the seas were roaring'? I have been well informed that they all contributed." — *Cowper to Unwin*, 1783.

* "Dr. Swift had been observing once to Mr. Gay, what an odd pretty sort of thing a Newgate Pastoral might make. Gay was inclined to try at such a thing for some time, but afterwards thought it would be better to write a comedy on the same plan. This was what gave rise to the *Beggar's Opera*. He began on it, and when he first mentioned it to Swift, the Doctor did not much like the project. As he carried it on, he showed what he wrote to both of us; and we now and then gave a correction, or a word or two of advice; but it was wholly of his own writing. When it was done, neither of us thought it would succeed. We showed it to Congreve, who, after reading it over, said, 'It would either take greatly, or be damned confoundedly.' We were all at the first night of it,

melody. It charms and melts you. It's indefinable, but it exists; and is the property of John Gay's and Oliver Goldsmith's best verse as fragrance is of a violet, or freshness of a rose.

Let me read a piece from one of his letters, which is so famous that most people here are no doubt familiar with it, but so delightful that it is always pleasant to hear: —

"I have just passed part of this summer at an old romantic seat of my Lord Harcourt's which he lent me. It overlooks a common field, where, under the shade of a haycock, sat two lovers as constant as ever were found in romance — beneath a spreading beech. The name of the one (let it sound as it will) was John Hewet; of the other Sarah Drew. John was a well-set man, about five-and-twenty; Sarah a brown woman of eighteen. John had for several months borne the labor of the day in the same field with Sarah; when she milked, it was his morning and evening charge to bring the cows to her pail. Their love was the talk, but not the scandal, of the whole neighborhood, for all they aimed at was the blameless possession of each other in marriage. It was but this very morning that he had obtained her parents' consent, and it was but till the next week that they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps this very day, in the intervals of their work, they were talking of their wedding clothes; and John was now matching several kinds of poppies and field flowers to her complexion, to make her a present of knots for the day. While they were thus employed (it was on the last of July) a terrible storm of

in great uncertainty of the event, till we were very much encouraged by overhearing the Duke of Argyle, who sat in the next box to us, say, 'It will do — it must do! — I see it in the eyes of them!' This was a good while before the first act was over, and so gave us ease soon; for the Duke [besides his own good taste] has a more particular knack than any one now living in discovering the taste of the public. He was quite right in this as usual; the good nature of the audience appeared stronger and stronger every act, and ended in a clamor of applause." — Pope. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

thunder and lightning arose, that drove the laborers to what shelter the trees or hedges afforded. Sarah, frightened and out of breath, sunk on a haycock; and John (who never separated from her), sat by her side, having raked two or three heaps together, to secure her. Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as if heaven had burst asunder. The laborers, all solicitous for each other's safety, called to one another: those that were nearest our lovers, hearing no answer, stepped to the place where they lay: they first saw a little smoke, and after, this faithful pair — John, with one arm about his Sarah's neck, and the other held over her face, as if to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and already grown stiff and cold in this tender posture. There was no mark or discoloring on their bodies — only that Sarah's eyebrow was a little singed, and a small spot between her breasts. They were buried the next day in one grave."

And the proof that this description is delightful and beautiful is, that the great Mr. Pope admired it so much that he thought proper to steal it and to send it off to a certain lady and wit, with whom he pretended to be in love in those days — my Lord Duke of Kingston's daughter, and married to Mr. Wortley Montagu, then his Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.*

We are now come to the greatest name on our list — the highest among the poets, the highest among the English wits and humorists with whom we have to rank him. If the author of the "Dunciad" be not a humorist, if the poet of the

* [This was a natural conjecture, but now appears to be erroneous. The letter seems to have been a joint composition of Gay and Pope, who were staying together at Lord Harcourt's house. Gay wrote to Fortescue, while Pope sent substantially the same letter to Martha Blount, Lord Bathurst, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. — See Mr. Courthope's notes in Pope's Works, vol. ix., 284, 399.]

"Rape of the Lock" be not a wit, who deserves to be called so? Besides that brilliant genius and immense fame, for both of which we should respect him, men of letters should admire him as being the greatest literary *artist* that England has seen. He polished, he refined, he thought; he took thoughts from other works to adorn and complete his own; borrowing an idea or a cadence from another poet as he would a figure or a simile from a flower, or a river, stream, or any object which struck him in his walk, or contemplation of nature. He began to imitate at an early age;* and taught himself to write by copying printed books. Then he passed into the hands of the priests, and from his first clerical master, who came to him when he was eight years old, he went to a school at Twyford, and another school at Hyde Park, at which places he unlearned all that he had got from his first instructor. At twelve years old, he went with his father into Windsor For-

* "Waller, Spenser, and Dryden were Mr. Pope's great favorites, in the order they are named, in his first reading, till he was about twelve years old." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"Mr. Pope's father (who was an honest merchant, and dealt in hollands, wholesale) was no poet, but he used to set him to make English verses when very young. He was pretty difficult in being pleased; and used often to send him back to new turn them. 'These are not good rhimes;' for that was my husband's word for verses." — POPE'S MOTHER. *Spence.*

"I wrote things, I'm ashamed to say how soon. Part of an Epic Poem when about twelve. The scene of it lay at Rhodes and some of the neighboring islands; and the poem opened under water with a description of the Court of Neptune." — POPE. *Ibid.*

"His perpetual application (after he set to study of himself) reduced him in four years' time to so bad a state of health, that, after trying physicians for a good while in vain, he resolved to give way to his distemper; and sat down calmly in a full expectation of death in a short time. Under this thought, he wrote letters to take a last farewell of some of his more particular friends, and, among the rest, one to the Abbé Southcote. The Abbé was extremely concerned both for his very ill state of health and the resolution he said he had taken. He thought there might yet be hope, and went immediately to Dr. Radcliffe, with whom he was well acquainted, told him Mr. Pope's case, got full directions from him, and carried them down to Pope in Windsor Forest. The chief thing the Doctor ordered him was to apply less, and to ride every day. The following his advice soon restored him to his health." — POPE. *Spence.*

est, and there learned for a few months under a fourth priest. "And this was all the teaching I ever had," he said, "and God knows it extended a very little way."

When he had done with his priests he took to reading by himself, for which he had a very great eagerness and enthusiasm, especially for poetry. He learnt versification from Dryden, he said. In his youthful poem of "Alcander," he imitated every poet, Cowley, Milton, Spenser, Statius, Homer, Virgil. In a few years he had dipped into a great number of the English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek poets. "This I did," he says, "without any design, except to amuse myself; and got the languages by hunting after the stories in the several poets I read, rather than read the books to get the languages. I followed everywhere as my fancy led me, and was like a boy gathering flowers in the fields and woods, just as they fell in his way. These five or six years I looked upon as the happiest in my life." Is not here a beautiful holiday picture? The forest and the fairy storybook — the boy spelling Ariosto or Virgil under the trees, battling with the Cid for the love of Chimène, or dreaming of Armida's garden — peace and sunshine round about — the kindest love and tenderness waiting for him at his quiet home yonder — and Genius throbbing in his young heart, and whispering to him, "You shall be great, you shall be famous; you too shall love and sing; you will sing her so nobly that some kind heart shall forget you are weak and ill formed. Every poet had a love. Fate must give one to you too," — and day by day he walks the forest, very likely looking out for that charmer. "They were the happiest days of his life," he says, when he was only dreaming of his fame: when he had gained that mistress she was no consoler.

That charmer made her appearance, it would seem, about the year 1705, when Pope was seventeen. Letters of his are extant, addressed to a certain Lady M——, whom the

youth courted, and to whom he expressed his ardor in language, to say no worse of it, that is entirely pert, odious, and affected. He imitated love compositions as he had been imitating love poems just before — it was a sham mistress he courted, and a sham passion, expressed as became it. These unlucky letters found their way into print years afterwards, and were sold to the congenial Mr. Curll. If any of my hearers, as I hope they may, should take a fancy to look at Pope's correspondence, let them pass over that first part of it; over, perhaps, almost all Pope's letters to women; in which there is a tone of not pleasant gallantry, and, amidst a profusion of compliments and politenesses, a something which makes one distrust the little pert, prurient bard. There is very little indeed to say about his loves, and that little not edifying. He wrote flames and raptures and elaborate verse and prose for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; but that passion probably came to a climax in an impertinence, and was extinguished by a box on the ear, or some such rebuff, and he began on a sudden to hate her with a fervor much more genuine than that of his love had been. It was a feeble puny grimace of love, and paltering with passion. After Mr. Pope had sent off one of his fine compositions to Lady Mary, he made a second draft from the rough copy, and favored some other friend with it. He was so charmed with the letter of Gay's that I have just quoted, that he had copied that and amended it, and sent it to Lady Mary as his own.* A gentleman who writes letters *à deux fins*, and after having poured out his heart to the beloved, serves up the same dish *réchauffé* to a friend, is not very much in earnest about his loves, however much he may be in his piques and vanities when his impertinence gets its due.

But, save that unlucky part of the "Pope Correspondence,"

* [See note on p. 534. Pope, however, was capable of very similar performances.]

I do not know, in the range of our literature, volumes more delightful.* You live in them in the finest company in the

* *Mr. Pope to the Rev. Mr. Broom, Pulham, Norfolk*

"*Aug. 29th*, 1730

"Dear Sir, — I intended to write to you on this melancholy subject, the death of Mr. Fenton, before yours came, but stayed to have informed myself and you of the circumstances of it. All I hear is, that he felt a gradual decay, though so early in life, and was declining for five or six months. It was not, as I apprehended, the gout in his stomach, but, I believe, rather a complication first of gross humors, as he was naturally corpulent, not discharging themselves, as he used no sort of exercise. No man better bore the approaches of his dissolution (as I am told), or with less ostentation yielded up his being. The great modesty which you know was natural to him, and the great contempt he had for all sorts of vanity and parade, never appeared more than in his last moments: he had a conscious satisfaction (no doubt) in acting right, in feeling himself honest, true, and unpretending to more than his own. So he died as he lived, with that secret, yet sufficient contentment.

"As to any papers left behind him, I dare say they can be but few; for this reason, he never wrote out of vanity, or thought much of the applause of men. I know an instance when he did his utmost to conceal his own merit that way; and if we join to this his natural love of ease, I fancy we must expect little of this sort: at least, I have heard of none, except some few further remarks on Waller (which his cautious integrity made him leave an order to be given to Mr. Tonson), and perhaps, though it is many years since I saw it, a translation of the first book of *Oppian*. He had begun a tragedy of *Dion*, but made small progress in it.

"As to his other affairs, he died poor but honest, leaving no debts or legacies, except of a few pounds to Mr. Trumbull and my lady, in token of respect, gratefulness, and mutual esteem.

"I shall with pleasure take upon me to draw this amiable, quiet, deserving, unpretending, Christian, and philosophical character in his epitaph. There truth may be spoken in a few words; as for flourish, and oratory, and poetry, I leave them to younger and more lively writers, such as love writing for writing's sake, and would rather show their own fine parts than report the valuable ones of any other man. So the elegy I renounce.

"I condole with you from my heart on the loss of so worthy a man, and a friend to us both. . . .

"Adieu; let us love his memory and profit by his example. Am very sincerely, dear sir,

"Your affectionate and real servant."

To the Earl of Burlington

"*August* 1714

"My Lord, — If your mare could speak, she would give you an account of

world. A little stately, perhaps; a little *apprêté* and conscious that they are speaking to whole generations who are listening; but in the tone of their voices — pitched, as no doubt they are, beyond the mere conversation key — in the expression of their thoughts, their various views and natures, there is something generous, and cheering, and ennobling.

what extraordinary company she had on the road, which, since she cannot do, I will.

"It was the enterprising Mr. Lintot, the redoubtable rival of Mr. Tonson, who, mounted on a stone-horse, overtook me in Windsor Forest. He said he heard I designed for Oxford, the seat of the Muses, and would, as my bookseller, by all means accompany me thither.

"I asked him where he got his horse? He answered he got it of his publisher; 'for that rogue, my printer,' said he, 'disappointed me. I hope to put him in good humor by a treat at the tavern of a brown fricasée of rabbits, which cost ten shillings, with two quarts of wine, besides my conversation. I thought myself cock-sure of his horse, which he readily promised me, but said that Mr. Tonson had just such another design of going to Cambridge, expecting there the copy of a new kind of Horace from Dr. ——; and if Mr. Tonson went, he was preengaged to attend him, being to have the printing of the said copy. So, in short, I borrowed this stone-horse of my publisher, which he had of Mr. Oldmixon for a debt. He lent me, too, the pretty boy you see after me. He was a smutty dog yesterday, and cost me more than two hours to wash the ink off his face; but the devil is a fair-conditioned devil, and very forward in his catechism. If you have any more bags, he shall carry them.'

"I thought Mr. Lintot's civility not to be neglected, so gave the boy a small bag containing three shirts and an Elzevir Virgil, and, mounting in an instant, proceeded on the road, with my man before, my courteous stationer beside, and the aforesaid devil behind.

"Mr. Lintot began in this manner: 'Now, damn them! What if they should put it into the newspaper how you and I went together to Oxford? What would I care? If I should go down into Sussex, they would say I was gone to the Speaker; but what of that? If my son were but big enough to go on with the business, by G–d, I would keep as good company as old Jacob.'

"Hereupon, I inquired of the son. 'The lad,' says he, 'has fine parts, but is somewhat sickly, much as you are. I spare for nothing in his education at Westminster. Pray, don't you think Westminster to be the best school in England? Most of the late Ministry came out of it; so did many of this Ministry. I hope the boy will make his fortune.'

"'Don't you design to let him pass a year at Oxford?' 'To what purpose?' said he. 'The Universities do but make pedants, and I intend to breed him a man of business.'

"As Mr. Lintot was talking I observed he sat uneasy on his saddle, for

You are in the society of men who have filled the greatest parts in the world's story — you are with St. John the statesman; Peterborough the conqueror; Swift, the greatest wit of all times; Gay, the kindliest laughter, — it is a privilege to sit in that company. Delightful and generous banquet! with a little faith and a little fancy any one of us here may

which I expressed some solicitude. 'Nothing,' says he. 'I can bear it well enough; but, since we have the day before us, methinks it would be very pleasant for you to rest awhile under the woods.' When we were alighted, 'See, here, what a mighty pretty Horace I have in my pocket! What if you amused yourself in turning an ode till we mount again? Lord! if you pleased, what a clever miscellany might you make at leisure hours!' 'Perhaps I may,' said I, 'if we ride on: the motion is an aid to my fancy; a round trot very much awakens my spirits; then jog on apace, and I'll think as hard as I can.'

"Silence ensued for a full hour; after which Mr. Lintot lugged the reins, stopped short, and broke out, 'Well, sir, how far have you gone?' I answered, seven miles. 'Z–ds, sir,' said Lintot, 'I thought you had done seven stanzas. Oldisworth, in a ramble round Wimbledon Hill, would translate a whole ode in half this time. I'll say that for Oldisworth [though I lost by his Timothy's], he translates an ode of Horace the quickest of any man in England. I remember Dr. King would write verses in a tavern, three hours after he could not speak: and there is Sir Richard, in that rumbling old chariot of his, between Fleet Ditch and St. Giles's Pound, shall make you half a Job.'

"'Pray, Mr. Lintot,' said I, 'now you talk of translators, what is your method of managing them?' 'Sir,' replied he, 'these are the saddest pack of rogues in the world: in a hungry fit, they'll swear they understand all the languages in the universe. I have known one of them take down a Greek book upon my counter and cry, "Ah, this is Hebrew, and must read it from the latter end." By G–d, I can never be sure in these fellows, for I neither understand Greek, Latin, French, nor Italian myself. But this is my way: I agree with them for ten shillings per sheet, with a proviso that I will have their doings corrected with whom I please; so by one or the other they are led at last to the true sense of an author; my judgment giving the negative to all my translators.' 'Then how are you sure these correctors may not impose upon you?' 'Why, I get any civil gentleman (especially any Scotchman) that comes into my shop, to read the original to me in English; by this I know whether my first translator be deficient, and whether my corrector merits his money or not.

"'I'll tell you what happened to me last month. I bargained with S—— for a new version of *Lucretius*, to publish against Tonson's, agreeing to pay the author so many shillings at his producing so many lines. He made a great progress in a very short time, and I gave it to the corrector to compare with the Latin; but he went directly to Creech's translation, and found it the same, word for word, all but the first page. Now, what d'ye think I did? I arrested

enjoy it, and conjure up those great figures out of the past, and listen to their wit and wisdom. Mind that there is always a certain *cachet* about great men — they may be as mean on many points as you or I, but they carry their great air — they speak of common life more largely and generously than common men do — they regard the world with a manlier

the translator for a cheat; nay, and I stopped the corrector's pay, too, upon the proof that he had made use of Creech instead of the original.'

"'Pray tell me next how you deal with the critics?' 'Sir,' said he, 'nothing more easy. I can silence the most formidable of them: the rich ones for a sheet apiece of the blotted manuscript, which cost me nothing; they'll go about with it to their acquaintance, and pretend they had it from the author, who submitted it to their correction: this has given some of them such an air, that in time they come to be consulted with and dedicated to as the tip-top critics of the town. — As for the poor critics, I'll give you one instance of my management, by which you may guess the rest: A lean man, that looked like a very good scholar, came to me t'other day; he turned over your Homer, shook his head, shrugged up his shoulders, and pish'd at every line of it. "One would wonder," says he, "at the strange presumption of some men; Homer is no such easy task as every stripling, every versifier ——" he was going on when my wife called to dinner. "Sir," said I, "will you please to eat a piece of beef with me?" "Mr. Lintot," said he, "I am very sorry you should be at the expense of this great book: I am really concerned on your account." "Sir, I am much obliged to you: if you can dine upon a piece of beef, together with a slice of pudding —?" — "Mr. Lintot, I do not say but Mr. Pope, if he would condescend to advise with men of learning ——" — "Sir, the pudding is upon the table, if you please to go in." My critic complies; he comes to a taste of your poetry, and tells me in the same breath that the book is commendable, and the pudding excellent.

"'Now, sir,' continued Mr. Lintot, 'in return for the frankness I have shown, pray tell me, is it the opinion of your friends at Court that my Lord Lansdowne will be brought to the bar or not?' I told him I heard he would not, and I hoped it, my Lord being one I had particular obligations to. — 'That may be,' replied Mr. Lintot; 'but by G— if he is not, I shall lose the printing of a very good trial.'

"These, my Lord, are a few traits with which you discern the genius of Mr. Lintot, which I have chosen for the subject of a letter. I dropped him as soon as I got to Oxford, and paid a visit to my Lord Carlton, at Middleton. . . .

"I am," &c.

Dr. Swift to Mr. Pope

"*Sept.* 29, 1725

"I am now returning to the noble scene of Dublin — into the *grand monde* — for fear of burying my parts; to signalize myself among curates and vicars,

countenance, and see its real features more fairly than the timid shufflers who only dare to look up at life through blinkers, or to have an opinion when there is a crowd to back it. He who reads these noble records of a past age, salutes and reverences the great spirits who adorn it. You may go home now and talk with St. John; you may take a volume from your library and listen to Swift and Pope.

and correct all corruptions crept in relating to the weight of bread-and-butter through those dominions where I govern. I have employed my time (besides ditching) in finishing, correcting, amending, and transcribing my 'Travels' [Gulliver's], in four parts complete, newly augmented, and intended for the press when the world shall deserve them, or rather, when a printer shall be found brave enough to venture his ears. I like the scheme of our meeting after distresses and dispersions; but the chief end I propose to myself in all my labors is to vex the world rather than divert it; and if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen without reading. I am exceedingly pleased that you have done with translations; Lord Treasurer Oxford often lamented that a rascally world should lay you under a necessity of misemploying your genius for so long a time; but since you will now be so much better employed, when you think of the world, give it one lash the more at my request. I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is towards individuals — for instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Councillor Such-a-one and Judge Such-a-one: it is so with physicians (I will not speak of my own trade), soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest. But principally I hate and detest that animal called man — although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth.

". . . I have got materials towards a treatise proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale*, and to show it should be only *rationis capax*. . . . The matter is so clear that it will admit of no dispute — nay, I will hold a hundred pounds that you and I agree in the point. . . .

"Mr. Lewis sent me an account of Dr. Arbuthnot's illness, which is a very sensible affliction to me, who, by living so long out of the world, have lost that hardness of heart contracted by years and general conversation. I am daily losing friends, and neither seeking nor getting others. Oh! if the world had but a dozen of Arbuthnots in it, I would burn my 'Travels'!"

Mr. Pope to Dr. Swift

"*October* 15, 1725

"I am wonderfully pleased with the suddenness of your kind answer. It makes me hope you are coming towards us, and that you incline more and more to your old friends. . . . Here is one [Lord Bolingbroke] who was once a powerful planet, but has now (after long experience of all that comes of shining)

Might I give counsel to any young hearer, I would say to him, Try to frequent the company of your betters. In books and life that is the most wholesome society; learn to admire rightly; the great pleasure of life is that. Note what the great men admired; they admired great things: narrow spirits admire basely, and worship meanly. I know nothing in any story more gallant and cheering than the love and friendship which this company of famous men bore towards one another. There never has been a society of men more friendly, as there never was one more illustrious. Who dares quarrel with Mr. Pope, great and famous himself, for liking the society of men great and famous? and for liking them for the qualities which made them so? A mere pretty fellow from White's could not have written the "Patriot King," and would very likely have despised little Mr. Pope, the de-

learned to be content with returning to his first point without the thought or ambition of shining at all. Here is another [Edward, Earl of Oxford], who thinks one of the greatest glories of his father was to have distinguished and loved you, and who loves you hereditarily. Here is Arbuthnot, recovered from the jaws of death, and more pleased with the hope of seeing you again than of reviewing a world, every part of which he has long despised but what is made up of a few men like yourself. . . .

"Our friend Gay is used as the friends of Tories are by Whigs — and generally by Tories too. Because he had humor, he was supposed to have dealt with Dr. Swift, in like manner as when any one had learning formerly, he was thought to have dealt with the devil. . . .

"Lord Bolingbroke had not the least harm by his fall; I wish he had received no more by his other fall. But Lord Bolingbroke is the most improved mind since you saw him, that ever was improved without shifting into a new body, or being *paullo minus ab angelis*. I have often imagined to myself, that if ever all of us meet again, after so many varieties and changes, after so much of the old world and of the old man in each of us has been altered, that scarce a single thought of the one, any more than a single atom of the other, remains just the same; I have fancied, I say, that we should meet like the righteous in the millennium, quite in peace, divested of all our former passions, smiling at our past follies, and content to enjoy the kingdom of the just in tranquillity.

. . . . . .

"I designed to have left the following page for Dr. Arbuthnot to fill, but he is so touched with the period in yours to me, concerning him, that he intends to answer it by a whole letter. . . ."

crepit Papist, whom the great St. John held to be one of the best and greatest of men: a mere nobleman of the Court could no more have won Barcelona, than he could have written Peterborough's letters to Pope,* which are as witty as Congreve: a mere Irish Dean could not have written "Gulliver"; and all these men loved Pope, and Pope loved all these men. To name his friends is to name the best men of his time. Addison had a senate; Pope reverenced his equals. He spoke of Swift with respect and admiration always. His admiration for Bolingbroke was so great, that when some one said of his friend, "There is something in that great man

* Of the Earl of Peterborough, Walpole says: — "He was one of those men of careless wit and negligent grace, who scatter a thousand *bon-mots* and idle verses, which we painful compilers gather and hoard, till the authors stare to find themselves authors. Such was this lord, of an advantageous figure and enterprising spirit; as gallant as Amadis and as brave; but a little more expeditious in his journeys: for he is said to have seen more kings and more postilions than any man in Europe. . . . He was a man, as his friend said, who would neither live nor die like any other mortal."

From the Earl of Peterborough to Pope

"You must receive my letters with a just impartiality, and give grains of allowance for a gloomy or rainy day; I sink grievously with the weather-glass, and am quite spiritless when oppressed with the thoughts of a birthday or a return.

"Dutiful affection was bringing me to town; but undutiful laziness, and being much out of order, keep me in the country: however, if alive, I must make my appearance at the birthday. . . .

"You seem to think it vexatious that I shall allow you but one woman at a time either to praise or love. If I dispute with you upon this point, I doubt every jury will give a verdict against me. So, sir, with a Mahometan indulgence, I allow your pluralities, the favorite privilege of our church.

"I find you don't mend upon correction; again I tell you you must not think of women in a reasonable way; you know we always make goddesses of those we adore upon earth; and do not all the good men tell us we must lay aside reason in what relates to the Deity?

". . . I should have been glad of anything of Swift's. Pray, when you write to him next, tell him I expect him with impatience, in a place as odd and as much out of the way as himself. Yours"

Peterborough married Mrs. Anastasia Robinson, the celebrated singer.

which looks as if he was placed here by mistake." "Yes," Pope answered, "and when the comet appeared to us a month or two ago, I had sometimes an imagination that it might possibly be come to carry him home as a coach come to one's door for visitors." So these great spirits spoke of one another. Show me six of the dullest middle-aged gentlemen that ever dawdled round a club table so faithful and so friendly.

We have said before that the chief wits of this time, with the exception of Congreve, were what we should now call men's men. They spent many hours of the four-and-twenty, a fourth part of each day nearly, in clubs and coffeehouses, where they dined, drank, and smoked. Wit and news went by word of mouth; a journal of 1710 contained the very smallest portion of one or the other. The chiefs spoke, the faithful *habitués* sat round; strangers came to wonder and listen. Old Dryden had his headquarters at "Will's," in Russell Street, at the corner of Bow Street: at which place Pope saw him when he was twelve years old. The company used to assemble on the first floor — what was called the dining-room floor in those days — and sat at various tables smoking their pipes. It is recorded that the beaux of the day thought it a great honor to be allowed to take a pinch out of Dryden's snuffbox. When Addison began to reign, he with a certain crafty propriety — a policy let us call it — which belonged to his nature, set up his court, and appointed the officers of his royal house. His palace was "Button's," opposite "Will's."* A quiet opposition, a silent assertion of empire,

* "Button had been a servant in the Countess of Warwick's family, who, under the patronage of Addison, kept a coffeehouse on the south side of Russell Street, about two doors from Covent Garden. Here it was that the wits of that time used to assemble. It is said that when Addison had suffered any vexation from the Countess, he withdrew the company from Button's house.

"From the coffeehouse he went again to a tavern, where he often sat late and drank too much wine." — *Dr. Johnson.*

Will's Coffeehouse was on the west side of Bow Street, and "corner of Russell Street." — See *Handbook of London.*

distinguished this great man. Addison's ministers were Budgell, Tickell, Philips, Carey; his master of the horse, honest Dick Steele, who was what Duroc was to Napoleon, or Hardy to Nelson: the man who performed his master's bidding, and would have cheerfully died in his quarrel. Addison lived with these people for seven or eight hours every day. The male society passed over their punch bowls and tobacco pipes about as much time as ladies of that age spent over spadille and manille.

For a brief space, upon coming up to town, Pope formed part of King Joseph's court, and was his rather too eager and obsequious humble servant.* Dick Steele, the editor of the *Tatler*, Mr. Addison's man, and his own man too — a person of no little figure in the world of letters — patronized the young poet, and set him a task or two. Young Mr. Pope did the tasks very quickly and smartly (he had been at the feet, quite as a boy, of Wycherley's † decrepit reputation, and

* "My acquaintance with Mr. Addison commenced in 1712: I liked him then as well as I liked any man, and was very fond of his conversation. It was very soon after that Mr. Addison advised me 'not to be content with the applause of half the nation.' He used to talk much and often to me, of moderation in parties: and used to blame his dear friend Steele for being too much of a party man. He encouraged me in my design of translating the *Iliad*, which was begun that year, and finished in 1718." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

"Addison had Budgell, and I think Philips, in the house with him. — Gay they would call one of my *élèves*. They were angry with me for keeping so much with Dr. Swift and some of the late Ministry." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

† *To Mr. Blount*

"*Jan.* 21, 1715–16

"I know of nothing that will be so interesting to you at present as some circumstances of the last act of that eminent comic poet and our friend, Wycherley. He had often told me, and I doubt not he did all his acquaintance, that he would marry as soon as his life was despaired of. Accordingly, a few days before his death, he underwent the ceremony, and joined together those two sacraments which wise men say we should be the last to receive; for, if you observe, matrimony is placed after extreme unction in our catechism, as a kind of hint of the order of time in which they are to be taken. The old man then lay down, satisfied in the consciousness of having, by this one act, obliged a woman who (he was told) had merit, and shown an heroic resentment of the

propped up for a year that doting old wit): he was anxious to be well with the men of letters, to get a footing and a recognition. He thought it an honor to be admitted into their company; to have the confidence of Mr. Addison's friend Captain Steele. His eminent parts obtained for him the honor of heralding Addison's triumph of "Cato" with his admirable prologue, and heading the victorious procession as it were. Not content with this act of homage and admiration, he wanted to distinguish himself by assaulting Addison's enemies, and attacked John Dennis with a prose lampoon, which highly offended his lofty patron. Mr. Steele was instructed to write to Mr. Dennis, and inform him that Mr. Pope's pamphlet against him was written quite without Mr. Addison's approval.* Indeed, "The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris on

ill-usage of his next heir. Some hundred pounds which he had with the lady discharged his debts; a jointure of £500 a year made her a recompense; and the nephew was left to comfort himself as well as he could with the miserable remains of a mortgaged estate. I saw our friend twice after this was done — less peevish in his sickness than he used to be in his health; neither much afraid of dying, nor (which in him had been more likely) much ashamed of marrying. The evening before he expired, he called his young wife to the bedside, and earnestly entreated her not to deny him one request — the last he should make. Upon her assurances of consenting to it, he told her: 'My dear, it is only this — that you will never marry an old man again.' I cannot help remarking that sickness, which often destroys both wit and wisdom, yet seldom has power to remove that talent which we call humor. Mr. Wycherley showed his even in his last compliment; though I think his request a little hard, for why should he bar her from doubling her jointure on the same easy terms?

"So trivial as these circumstances are, I should not be displeased myself to know such trifles when they concern or characterize any eminent person. The wisest and wittiest of men are seldom wiser or wittier than others in these sober moments; at least, our friend ended much in the same character he had lived in; and Horace's rule for play may as well be applied to him as a playwright: —

"'Servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit et sibi constet.'

"I am," &c.

* "Addison, who was no stranger to the world, probably saw the selfishness of Pope's friendship; and resolving that he should have the consequences of his officiousness to himself, informed Dennis by Steele that he was sorry for the insult." — JOHNSON. *Life of Addison.*

the Phrenzy of J. D." is a vulgar and mean satire, and such a blow as the magnificent Addison could never desire to see any partisan of his strike in any literary quarrel. Pope was closely allied with Swift when he wrote this pamphlet. It is so dirty that it has been printed in Swift's works, too. It bears the foul marks of the master hand. Swift admired and enjoyed with all his heart the prodigious genius of the young Papist lad out of Windsor Forest, who had never seen a university in his life, and came and conquered the Dons and the doctors with his wit. He applauded, and loved him, too, and protected him, and taught him mischief. I wish Addison could have loved him better. The best satire that ever has been penned would never have been written then; and one of the best characters the world ever knew would have been without a flaw. But he who had so few equals could not bear one, and Pope was more than that. When Pope, trying for himself, and soaring on his immortal young wings, found that his, too, was a genius, which no pinion of that age could follow, he rose and left Addison's company, settling on his own eminence, and singing his own song.

It was not possible that Pope should remain a retainer of Mr. Addison; nor likely that after escaping from his vassalage and assuming an independent crown, the sovereign whose allegiance he quitted should view him amicably.* They did not do wrong to mislike each other. They but followed the impulse of nature, and the consequence of position. When Bernadotte became heir to a throne, the Prince Royal of

* "While I was heated with what I heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison, to let him know 'that I was not unacquainted with this behavior of his; that if I was to speak of him severely in return for it, it should not be in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him himself fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner.' I then subjoined the first sketch of what has since been called my satire on Addison. He used me very civilly ever after; and never did me any injustice, that I know of, from that time to his death, which was about three years after." — POPE. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

Sweden was naturally Napoleon's enemy. "There are many passions and tempers of mankind," says Mr. Addison in the *Spectator*, speaking a couple of years before the little differences between him and Mr. Pope took place, "which naturally dispose us to depress and vilify the merit of one rising in the esteem of mankind. All those who made their entrance into the world with the same advantages, and were once looked on as his equals, are apt to think the fame of his merits a reflection on their own deserts. Those who were once his equals envy and defame him, because they now see him the superior; and those who were once his superiors, because they look upon him as their equal." Did Mr. Addison, justly perhaps thinking that, as young Mr. Pope had not had the benefit of a university education, he couldn't know Greek, therefore he couldn't translate Homer, encourage his young friend Mr. Tickell, of Queen's, to translate that poet, and aid him with his own known scholarship and skill?* It was natural that Mr. Addison should doubt of the learning of an amateur Grecian, should have a high opinion of Mr. Tickell, of Queen's, and should help that ingenious young man. It was natural, on the other hand, that Mr. Pope and Mr. Pope's friends should believe that his counter-translation, suddenly advertised and so long written, though Tickell's college friends had never heard of it — though, when Pope first wrote to Addison regarding his scheme, Mr. Addison knew nothing of the similar project of Tickell, of Queen's — it was natural that Mr. Pope and his friends, having interests, passions, and prejudices of their own, should believe that Tickell's translation was but an act of opposition against Pope, and that they should call Mr. Tickell's emulation Mr. Addison's envy — if envy it were.

* "That Tickell should have been guilty of a villainy seems to us highly improbable; that Addison should have been guilty of a villainy seems to us highly improbable; but that these two men should have conspired together to commit a villainy, seems, to us, improbable in a tenfold degree." — *Macaulay.*

"And were there one whose fires
True genius kindles and fair game inspires,
Blest with each talent and each art to please,
And born to write, converse, and live with ease;
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful yet with jealous eyes,
And hate, for arts that caused himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And, without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame as to commend
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend;
Dreading even fools, by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging that he ne'er obliged:
Like Cato give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While wits and templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise;
Who but must laugh if such a man there be,
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?"

"I sent the verses to Mr. Addison," said Pope, "and he used me very civilly ever after." No wonder he did. It was shame very likely more than fear that silenced him. Johnson recounts an interview between Pope and Addison after their quarrel, in which Pope was angry, and Addison tried to be contemptuous and calm. Such a weapon as Pope's must have pierced any scorn. It flashes forever, and quivers in Addison's memory. His great figure looks out on us from the past — stainless but for that — pale, calm, and beautiful: it bleeds from that black wound. He should be drawn, like Saint Sebastian, with that arrow in his side. As he sent to Gay and asked his pardon, as he bade his stepson come and see his death, be sure he had forgiven Pope, when he made ready to show how a Christian could die.*

* [This story has been now upset by the researches of Mr. Dilke, Mr. Elwin, and others; though, when Thackeray wrote, it was the accepted version. There

Pope then formed part of the Addisonian court for a short time, and describes himself in his letters as sitting with that coterie until two o'clock in the morning over punch and burgundy amidst the fumes of tobacco. To use an expression of the present day, the "pace" of those *viveurs* of the former age was awful. Peterborough lived into the very jaws of death; Godolphin labored all day and gambled at night; Bolingbroke,* writing to Swift, from Dawley, in his retirement, dating his letter at six o'clock in the morning, and rising, as he says, refreshed, serene, and calm, calls to mind the time of his London life; when about that hour he used to be going to bed, surfeited with pleasure, and jaded with business; his head often full of schemes, and his heart as often full of anxiety. It was too hard, too coarse a life for the sensitive, sickly Pope. He was the only wit of the day, a friend writes

is no reason to suppose that Addison ever saw the verses. The statement is part of an elaborate fiction concocted by Pope, and supported by manufacturing letters to Addison out of letters really written to another correspondent. The whole story may be found in the edition of Pope by Elwin and Courthope, and is one of the most curious cases of literary imposture on record. It is enough to say that all stain has been removed from Addison's character. Thackeray would have rejoiced at that result, though he would have had to modify some of the eulogy bestowed upon Pope.]

* *Lord Bolingbroke to the Three Yahoos of Twickenham*

"*July* 23, 1726

"JONATHAN, ALEXANDER, JOHN, MOST EXCELLENT TRIUMVIRS OF PARNASSUS, — Though you are probably very indifferent where I am, or what I am doing, yet I resolve to believe the contrary. I persuade myself that you have sent at least fifteen times within this fortnight to Dawley farm, and that you are extremely mortified at my long silence. To relieve you, therefore, from this great anxiety of mind, I can do no less than write a few lines to you; and I please myself beforehand with the vast pleasure which this epistle must needs give you. That I may add to this pleasure, and give further proofs of my beneficent temper, I will likewise inform you, that I shall be in your neighborhood again by the end of next week: by which time I hope that Jonathan's imagination of business will be succeeded by some imagination more becoming a professor of that divine science, *la bagatelle*. Adieu. Jonathan, Alexander, John, mirth be with you!"

to me, who wasn't fat.* Swift was fat; Addison was fat; Steele was fat; Gay and Thomson were preposterously fat — all that fuddling and punch-drinking, that club and coffee-house boozing, shortened the lives and enlarged the waistcoats of the men of that age. Pope withdrew in a great measure from this boisterous London company, and being put into an independence by the gallant exertions of Swift† and his private friends, and by the enthusiastic national admiration which justly rewarded his great achievement of the "Iliad," purchased that famous villa of Twickenham which his song and life celebrated; duteously bringing his old parent to live and die there, entertaining his friends there, and making occasional visits to London in his little chariot, in which Atterbury compared him to "Homer in a nutshell."

"Mr. Dryden was not a genteel man," Pope quaintly said to Spence, speaking of the manner and habits of the famous old patriarch of "Will's." With regard to Pope's own manners, we have the best contemporary authority that they were singularly refined and polished. With his extraordinary sensibility, with his known tastes, with his delicate frame, with his power and dread of ridicule, Pope could have been no other than what we call a highly bred person.‡ His closest friends, with the exception of Swift, were among the delights and ornaments of the polished society of their age. Garth,§

* Prior must be excepted from this observation. "He was lank and lean."

† Swift exerted himself very much in promoting the *Iliad* subscription; and also introduced Pope to Harley and Bolingbroke. Pope realized by the *Iliad* upwards of £5000, which he laid out partly in annuities, and partly in the purchase of his famous villa. Johnson remarks that "it would be hard to find a man, so well entitled to notice by his wit, that ever delighted so much in talking of his money."

‡ "His (Pope's) voice in common conversation was so naturally musical, that I remember honest Tom Southerne used always to call him 'the little nightingale.'" — *Orrery*.

§ Garth, whom Dryden calls "generous as his Muse," was a Yorkshireman. He graduated at Cambridge, and was made M.D. in 1691. He soon distinguished himself in his profession, by his poem of the "Dispensary," and in

the accomplished and benevolent, whom Steele has described so charmingly, of whom Codrington said that his character was "all beauty," and whom Pope himself called the best of Christians without knowing it; Arbuthnot,* one of the

society, and pronounced Dryden's funeral oration. He was a strict Whig, a notable member of the "Kit-Cat," and a friendly, convivial, able man. He was knighted by George I, with the Duke of Marlborough's sword. He died in 1718.

* "Arbuthnot was the son of an Episcopal clergyman in Scotland, and belonged to an ancient and distinguished Scotch family. He was educated at Aberdeen; and, coming up to London — according to a Scotch practice often enough alluded to — to make his fortune, first made himself known by *An Examination of Dr. Woodward's Account of the Deluge*. He became physician successively to Prince George of Denmark and to Queen Anne. He is usually allowed to have been the most learned, as well as one of the most witty and humorous members of the Scriblerus Club. The opinion entertained of him by the humorists of the day is abundantly evidenced in their correspondence. When he found himself in his last illness, he wrote thus, from this retreat at Hampstead, to Swift: —

"'HAMPSTEAD: *Oct.* 4, 1734

"'MY DEAR AND WORTHY FRIEND, — You have no reason to put me among the rest of your forgetful friends, for I wrote two long letters to you, to which I never received one word of answer. The first was about your health; the last I sent a great while ago, by one De la Mar. I can assure you with great truth that none of your friends or acquaintance has a more warm heart towards you than myself. I am going out of this troublesome world, and you, among the rest of my friends, shall have my last prayers and good wishes.

"'. . . I came out to this place so reduced by a dropsy and an asthma, that I could neither sleep, breathe, eat, nor move. I most earnestly desired and begged of God that He would take me. Contrary to my expectation, upon venturing to ride (which I had forborne for some years) I recovered my strength to a pretty considerable degree, slept, and had my stomach again. . . . What I did, I can assure you was not for life, but ease; for I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbor, and then blown back to sea — who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world; for I have as great comfort in my own family and from the kindness of my friends as any man; but the world, in the main, displeases me, and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. I cannot imagine why you are frightened from a journey to England: the reasons you assign are not sufficient — the journey, I am sure, would do you good In general, I recommend riding, of which I have always had a good opinion, and can now confirm it from my own experience.

"'My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in

wisest, wittiest, most accomplished, gentlest of mankind; Bolingbroke, the Alcibiades of his age; the generous Oxford; the magnificent, the witty, the famous, and chivalrous Peterborough: these were the fast and faithful friends of Pope, the most brilliant company of friends, let us repeat, that the world has ever seen. The favorite recreation of his leisure hours was the society of painters, whose art he practiced. In his correspondence are letters between him and Jervas, whose pupil he loved to be — Richardson, a celebrated artist of his time, and who painted for him a portrait of his old mother, and for whose picture he asked and thanked Richardson in one of the most delightful letters that ever were penned,* — and the wonderful Kneller, who bragged

one of them gave me my first shock, and the trouble I have with the rest to bring them to a right temper to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour; for all that is in this world is not worth the least deviation from the way. It will be great pleasure to me to hear from you sometimes; for none are with more sincerity than I am, my dear friend, your most faithful friend and humble servant.' "

"Arbuthnot," Johnson says, "was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliance of wit; a wit who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal."

Dugald Stewart has testified to Arbuthnot's ability in a department of which he was particularly qualified to judge: "Let me add, that, in the list of philosophical reformers, the authors of *Martinus Scriblerus* ought not to be overlooked. Their happy ridicule of the scholastic logic and metaphysics is universally known; but few are aware of the acuteness and sagacity displayed in their allusions to some of the most vulnerable passages in Locke's *Essay*. In this part of the work it is commonly understood that Arbuthnot had the principal share." — See *Preliminary Dissertation to Encyclopædia Britannica*, note to p. 242, and also note B. B. B., p. 285.

* *To Mr. Richardson*

"TWICKENHAM, *June* 10, 1733

"As I know you and I mutually desire to see one another, I hoped that this day our wishes would have met, and brought you hither. And this for the very

more, spelt worse, and painted better than any artist of his day.*

It is affecting to note, through Pope's correspondence, the marked way in which his friends, the greatest, the most famous, and wittiest men of the time — generals and statesmen, philosophers and divines — all have a kind word and a kind thought for the good simple old mother, whom Pope tended so affectionately. Those men would have scarcely valued her, but that they knew how much he loved her, and that they pleased him by thinking of her. If his early letters to women are affected and insincere, whenever he speaks about this one, it is with a childish tenderness and an almost sacred simplicity. In 1713, when young Mr. Pope had, by a series of the most astonishing victories and dazzling achievements, seized the crown of poetry, and the town was in an uproar of admiration, or hostility, for the young chief; when Pope was issuing his famous decrees for the translation of the "Iliad"; when Dennis and the lower critics were hooting and assailing him; when Addison and the gentlemen of his

reason, which possibly might hinder you coming, that my poor mother is dead. I thank God her death was as easy as her life was innocent; and as it cost her not a groan, or even a sigh, there is yet upon her countenance such an expression of tranquillity, nay, almost of pleasure, that it is even amiable to behold it. It would afford the finest image of a saint expired that ever painting drew; and it would be the greatest obligation which even that obliging art could ever bestow on a friend, if you could come and sketch it for me. I am sure, if there be no very prevalent obstacle, you will leave any common business to do this; and I hope to see you this evening, as late as you will, or to-morrow morning as early, before this winter flower is faded. I will defer her interment till to-morrow night. I know you love me, or I could not have written this — I could not (at this time) have written at all. Adieu! May you die as happily!

"Yours," &c.

* "Mr. Pope was with Sir Godfrey Kneller one day, when his nephew, a Guinea trader, came in. 'Nephew,' said Sir Godfrey, 'you have the honor of seeing the two greatest men in the world.' 'I don't know how great you may be,' said the Guinea man, 'but I don't like your looks: I have often bought a man much better than both of you together, all muscles and bones, for ten guineas.'" — Dr. Warburton. *Spence's Anecdotes.*

court were sneering with sickening hearts at the prodigious triumphs of the young conqueror; when Pope, in a fever of victory, and genius, and hope, and anger, was struggling through the crowd of shouting friends and furious detractors to his temple of Fame, his old mother writes from the country, "My deare," says she — "my deare, there's Mr. Blount, of Mapel Durom, dead the same day that Mr. Ingefield died. Your sister is well; but your brother is sick. My service to Mrs. Blount, and all that ask of me. I hope to hear from you, and that you are well, which is my daily prayer; and this with my blessing." The triumph marches by, and the car of the young conqueror, the hero of a hundred brilliant victories: the fond mother sits in the quiet cottage at home and says, "I send you my daily prayers and I bless you, my deare."

In our estimate of Pope's character, let us always take into account that constant tenderness and fidelity of affection which pervaded and sanctified his life, and never forget that maternal benediction.* It accompanied him always: his life seems purified by those artless and heartfelt prayers. And he seems to have received and deserved the fond attachment of the other members of his family. It is not a little touching to read in Spence of the enthusiastic admiration with which his half sister regarded him, and the simple anecdote by which she illustrates her love. "I think no man was ever so little fond of money." Mrs. Rackett says about her brother, "I think my brother when he was young read more books than any man in the world;" and she falls to telling stories of his school days, and the manner in which his master

* Swift's mention of him as one

"whose filial piety excels
Whatever Grecian story tells,"

is well known. And a sneer of Walpole's may be put to a better use than he ever intended it for, *à propos* of this subject. He charitably sneers, in one of his letters, at Spence's "fondling an old mother — in imitation of Pope!"

at Twyford ill-used him. "I don't think my brother knew what fear was," she continues; and the accounts of Pope's friends bear out this character for courage. When he had exasperated the dunces, and threats of violence and personal assault were brought to him, the dauntless little champion never for one instant allowed fear to disturb him, or condescended to take any guard in his daily walks except occasionally his faithful dog to bear him company. "I had rather die at once," said the gallant little cripple, "than live in fear of those rascals."

As for his death, it was what the noble Arbuthnot asked and enjoyed for himself — a euthanasia — a beautiful end. A perfect benevolence, affection, serenity hallowed the departure of that high soul. Even in the very hallucinations of his brain, and weaknesses of his delirium, there was something almost sacred. Spence describes him in his last days, looking up and with a rapt gaze as if something had suddenly passed before him. "He said to me, 'What's that?' pointing into the air with a very steady regard, and then looked down and said, with a smile of the greatest softness, ''Twas a vision!'" He laughed scarcely ever, but his companions describe his countenance as often illuminated by a peculiar sweet smile.

"When," said Spence,* the kind anecdotist whom Johnson despised — "when I was telling Lord Bolingbroke that Mr. Pope, on every catching and recovery of his mind, was always saying something kindly of his present or absent friends; and that this was so surprising, as it seemed to me as if humanity

* Joseph Spence was the son of a clergyman, near Winchester. He was a short time at Eton, and afterwards became a Fellow of New College, Oxford, a clergyman, and professor of poetry. He was a friend of Thomson's, whose reputation he aided. He published an *Essay on the Odyssey* in 1726, which introduced him to Pope. Everybody liked him. His *Anecdotes* were placed, while still in Ms., at the service of Johnson and also of Malone. They were published by Mr. Singer in 1820.

had outlasted understanding, Lord Bolingbroke said, 'It has so,' and then added, 'I never in my life knew a man who had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or a more general friendship for mankind. I have known him these thirty years, and value myself more for that man's love than ——' Here," Spence says, "St. John sunk his head and lost his voice in tears." The sob which finishes the epitaph is finer than words. It is the cloak thrown over the father's face in the famous Greek picture, which hides the grief and heightens it.

In Johnson's "Life of Pope" you will find described, with rather a malicious minuteness, some of the personal habits and infirmities of the great little Pope. His body was crooked, he was so short that it was necessary to raise his chair in order to place him on a level with other people at table.* He was sewed up in a buckram suit every morning, and required a nurse like a child. His contemporaries reviled these misfortunes with a strange acrimony, and made his poor deformed person the butt for many a bolt of heavy wit. The facetious Mr. Dennis, in speaking of him, says, "If you take the first letter of Mr. Alexander Pope's Christian name, and the first and last letters of his surname, you have A. P. E." Pope catalogues, at the end of the "Dunciad," with a rueful precision, other pretty names, besides Ape, which Dennis called him. That great critic pronounced Mr. Pope a little ass, a fool, a coward, a Papist, and therefore a hater of Scripture, and so forth. It must be remembered that the pillory was a

* He speaks of Arbuthnot's having helped him through "that long disease, my life." But not only was he so feeble as is implied in his use of the "buckram," but "it now appears," says Mr. Peter Cunningham, "from his unpublished letters that, like Lord Hervey, he had recourse to ass's milk for the preservation of his health." It is to his lordship's use of that simple beverage that he alludes when he says —

> "Let Sporus tremble! — A. What, that thing of silk,
> Sporus, that mere white-curd of ass's milk?"

flourishing and popular institution in those days. Authors stood in it in the body sometimes: and dragged their enemies thither morally, hooted them with foul abuse and assailed them with garbage of the gutter. Poor Pope's figure was an easy one for those clumsy caricaturists to draw. Any stupid hand could draw a hunchback and write Pope underneath. They did. A libel was published against Pope, with such a frontispiece. This kind of rude jesting was an evidence not only of an ill nature, but a dull one. When a child makes a pun, or a lout breaks out into a laugh, it is some very obvious combination of words, or discrepancy of objects, which provokes the infantine satirist, or tickles the boorish wag; and many of Pope's revilers laughed not so much because they were wicked, as because they knew no better.

Without the utmost sensibility, Pope could not have been the poet he was; and through his life, however much he protested that he disregarded their abuse, the coarse ridicule of his opponents stung and tore him. One of Cibber's pamphlets coming into Pope's hands, whilst Richardson the painter was with him, Pope turned round and said, "These things are my diversions;" and Richardson, sitting by whilst Pope perused the libel, said he saw his features "writhing with anguish." How little human nature changes! Can't one see that little figure? Can't one fancy one is reading Horace? Can't one fancy one is speaking of to-day?"

The tastes and sensibilities of Pope, which led him to cultivate the society of persons of fine manners, or wit, or taste, or beauty, caused him to shrink equally from that shabby and boisterous crew which formed the rank and file of literature in his time: and he was as unjust to these men as they to him. The delicate little creature sickened at habits and company which were quite tolerable to robuster men: and in the famous feud between Pope and the Dunces, and without attributing any peculiar wrong to either, one can quite

understand how the two parties should so hate each other. As I fancy, it was a sort of necessity that when Pope's triumph passed, Mr. Addison and his men should look rather contemptuously down on it from their balcony; so it was natural for Dennis and Tibbald, and Welsted and Cibber, and the worn and hungry pressmen in the crowd below, to howl at him and assail him. And Pope was more savage to Grub Street than Grub Street was to Pope. The thong with which he lashed them was dreadful; he fired upon that howling crew such shafts of flame and poison, he slew and wounded so fiercely, that in reading the "Dunciad" and the prose lampoons of Pope, one feels disposed to side against the ruthless little tyrant, at least to pity those wretched folk on whom he was so unmerciful. It was Pope, and Swift to aid him, who established among us the Grub Street tradition. He revels in base descriptions of poor men's want; he gloats over poor Dennis's garret, and flannel nightcap and red stockings; he gives instructions how to find Curll's authors — the historian at the tallow-chandler's under the blind arch in Petty France, the two translators in bed together, the poet in the cock-loft in Budge Row, whose landlady keeps the ladder. It was Pope, I fear, who contributed, more than any man who ever lived, to depreciate the literary calling. It was not an unprosperous one before that time, as we have seen; at least there were great prizes in the profession which had made Addison a Minister, and Prior an Ambassador, and Steele a Commissioner, and Swift all but a Bishop. The profession of letters was ruined by that libel of the "Dunciad."* If authors were wretched and poor before, if some of them lived

* [This statement would require qualification. The Grub Street author was probably worse off in the time of Queen Anne than in the time of George II., and the "Dunciad" really showed that he could make himself more effectually unpleasant to his superiors. The prizes of Queen Anne's time did not go to the professional author, but to the authors who were in a good enough position to be on friendly terms with ministers.]

in haylofts, of which their landladies kept the ladders, at least nobody came to disturb them in their straw; if three of them had but one coat between them, the two remained invisible in the garret, the third, at any rate, appeared decently at the coffeehouse and paid his twopence like a gentleman. It was Pope that dragged into light all this poverty and meanness, and held up those wretched shifts and rags to public ridicule. It was Pope that has made generations of the reading world (delighted with the mischief, as who would not be that reads it?) believe that author and wretch, author and rags, author and dirt, author and drink, gin, cowheel, tripe, poverty, duns, bailiffs, squalling children and clamorous landladies, were always associated together. The condition of authorship began to fall from the days of the "Dunciad": and I believe in my heart that much of that obloquy which has since pursued our calling was occasioned by Pope's libels and wicked wit. Everybody read those. Everybody was familiarized with the idea of the poor devil, the author. The manner is so captivating that young authors practice it, and begin their career with satire. It is so easy to write, and so pleasant to read! to fire a shot that makes a giant wince, perhaps; and fancy oneself his conqueror. It is easy to shoot — but not as Pope did. The shafts of his satire rise sublimely: no poet's verse ever mounted higher than that wonderful flight with which the "Dunciad" concludes:*

"She comes, she comes! the sable throne behold
Of Night primeval and of Chaos old;
Before her, Fancy's gilded clouds decay,
And all its varying rainbows die away;
Wit shoots in vain its momentary fires,
The meteor drops, and in a flash expires.
As, one by one, at dread Medea's strain
The sick'ning stars fade off the ethereal plain;

* "He (Johnson) repeats to us, in his forcible melodious manner, the concluding lines of the 'Dunciad.'" — *Boswell.*

As Argus' eyes, by Hermes' wand oppress'd,
Closed, one by one, to everlasting rest; —
Thus, at her fell approach and secret might,
Art after Art goes out, and all is night.
See skulking Truth to her old cavern fled,
Mountains of casuistry heaped o'er her head;
Philosophy, that leaned on Heaven before,
Shrinks to her second cause and is no more.
Religion, blushing, veils her sacred fires,
And, unawares, Morality expires.
Nor public flame, nor private, dares to shine,
Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine.
Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos, is restored,
Light dies before thy uncreating word;
Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all." *

In these astonishing lines Pope reaches, I think, to the very greatest height which his sublime art has attained, and shows himself the equal of all poets of all times. It is the brightest ardor, the loftiest assertion of truth, the most generous wisdom illustrated by the noblest poetic figure, and spoken in words the aptest, grandest, and most harmonious. It is heroic courage speaking: a splendid declaration of righteous wrath and war. It is the gage flung down, and the silver trumpet ringing defiance to falsehood and tyranny, deceit, dullness, superstition. It is Truth, the champion, shining and intrepid, and fronting the great world-tyrant with armies of slaves at his back. It is a wonderful and victorious single combat, in that great battle which has always been waging since society began.

In speaking of a work of consummate art one does not try to show what it actually is, for that were vain; but what it is like, and what are the sensations produced in the mind of

* "Mr. Langton informed me that he once related to Johnson (on the authority of Spence) that Pope himself admired these lines so much that when he repeated them his voice faltered. 'And well it might, sir,' said Johnson, 'for they are noble lines.'" — *J. Boswell, junior.*

him who views it. And in considering Pope's admirable career, I am forced into similitudes drawn from other courage and greatness, and into comparing him with those who achieved triumphs in actual war. I think of the works of young Pope as I do of the actions of young Bonaparte or young Nelson. In their common life you will find frailties and meannesses, as great as the vices and follies of the meanest men. But in the presence of the great occasion, the great soul flashes out, and conquers transcendent. In thinking of the splendor of Pope's young victories, of his merit, unequaled as his renown, I hail and salute the achieving genius, and do homage to the pen of a hero.

HOGARTH, SMOLLETT, AND FIELDING

I suppose as long as novels last and authors aim at interesting their public, there must always be in the story a virtuous and a gallant hero, a wicked monster his opposite, and a pretty girl who finds a champion; bravery and virtue conquer beauty; and vice, after seeming to triumph through a certain number of pages, is sure to be discomfited in the last volume, when justice overtakes him and honest folk come by their own. There never was perhaps a greatly popular story but this simple plot was carried through it: mere satiric wit is addressed to a class of readers and thinkers quite different to those simple souls who laugh and weep over the novel. I fancy very few ladies, indeed, for instance, could be brought to like "Gulliver" heartily, and (putting the coarseness and difference of manners out of the question) to relish the wonderful satire of "Jonathan Wild." In that strange apologue, the author takes for a hero the greatest rascal, coward, traitor, tyrant, hypocrite, that his wit and experience, both large in this matter, could enable him to devise or depict; he accompanies this villain through all the actions of his life, with a grinning deference and a wonderful mock respect; and doesn't leave him till he is dangling at the gallows, when the satirist makes him a low bow and wishes the scoundrel good day.

It was not by satire of this sort, or by scorn and contempt, that Hogarth achieved his vast popularity and acquired his reputation.* His art is quite simple; † he speaks popular

* Coleridge speaks of the "beautiful female faces" in Hogarth's pictures, "in whom," he says, "the satirist never extinguished that love of beauty which belonged to him as a poet." — *The Friend.*

† "I was pleased with the reply of a gentleman, who, being asked which

parables to interest simple hearts, and to inspire them with pleasure or pity or warning and terror. Not one of his tales but is as easy as "Goody Two-Shoes"; it is the moral of Tommy was a naughty boy and the master flogged him, and Jacky was a good boy and had plum cake, which pervades the whole works of the homely and famous English moralist.

book he esteemed most in his library, answered 'Shakespeare': being asked which he esteemed next best, replied 'Hogarth.' His graphic representations are indeed books: they have the teeming, fruitful, suggestive meaning of *words*. Other pictures we look at — his prints we read. . . .

"The quantity of thought which Hogarth crowds into every picture would almost unvulgarize every subject which he might choose. . . .

"I say not that all the ridiculous subjects of Hogarth have necessarily something in them to make us like them; some are indifferent to us, some in their nature repulsive, and only made interesting by the wonderful skill and truth to nature in the painter; but I contend that there is in most of them that sprinkling of the better nature, which, like holy water, chases away and disperses the contagion of the bad. They have this in them, besides, that they bring us acquainted with the everyday human face, — they give us skill to detect those gradations of sense and virtue (which escape the careless or fastidious observer) in the circumstances of the world about us; and prevent that disgust at common life, that *tædium quotidianarum formarum*, which an unrestricted passion for ideal forms and beauties is in danger of producing. In this, as in many other things, they are analogous to the best novels of Smollett and Fielding." — *Charles Lamb*.

"It has been observed that Hogarth's pictures are exceedingly unlike any other representations of the same kind of subjects — that they form a class, and have a character peculiar to themselves. It may be worth while to consider in what this general distinction consists.

"In the first place, they are, in the strictest sense, *historical* pictures; and if what Fielding says be true, that his novel of *Tom Jones* ought to be regarded as an epic prose-poem, because it contained a regular development of fable, manners, character, and passion, the compositions of Hogarth will, in like manner, be found to have a higher claim to the title of epic pictures than many which have of late arrogated that denomination to themselves. When we say that Hogarth treated his subjects historically, we mean that his works represent the manners and humors of mankind in action, and their characters by varied expression. Everything in his pictures has life and motion in it. Not only does the business of the scene never stand still, but every feature and muscle is put into full play; the exact feeling of the moment is brought out, and carried to its utmost height, and then instantly seized and stamped on the canvas forever. The expression is always taken *en passant*, in a state of progress or change, and, as it were, at the salient point. . . . His figures are not like

And if the moral is written in rather too large letters after the fable, we must remember how simple the scholars and schoolmaster both were, and like neither the less because they are so artless and honest. "It was a maxim of Doctor Harrison's," Fielding says, in "Amelia," — speaking of the benevolent divine and philosopher who represents the good principle in that novel — "that no man can descend below himself, in doing any act which may contribute to protect an innocent person, *or to bring a rogue to the gallows.*" The moralists of that age had no compunction, you see; they had not begun to be skeptical about the theory of punishment, and thought that the hanging of a thief was a spectacle for edification. Masters sent their apprentices, fathers took their children, to see Jack Sheppard or Jonathan Wild hanged, and it was as undoubting subscribers to this moral law that Fielding wrote and Hogarth painted. Except in one instance, where, in the madhouse scene in the "Rake's Progress," the girl whom he has ruined is represented as still tending and weeping over him in his insanity, a glimpse of pity for his rogues never seems to enter honest Hogarth's mind. There's not the slightest doubt in the breast of the jolly Draco.

The famous set of pictures called "Marriage à la Mode," and which are now exhibited in the National Gallery in London, contains the most important and highly wrought of the Hogarth comedies. The care and method with which the moral grounds of these pictures are laid is as remarkable as the wit and skill of the observing and dexterous artist.

the background on which they are painted: even the pictures on the wall have a peculiar look of their own. Again, with the rapidity, variety, and scope of history, Hogarth's heads have all the reality and correctness of portraits. He gives the extremes of character and expression, but he gives them with perfect truth and accuracy. This is, in fact, what distinguishes his compositions from all others of the same kind, that they are equally remote from caricature, and from mere still life. . . . His faces go to the very verge of caricature, and yet never (we believe in any single instance) go beyond it." — *Hazlitt.*

He has to describe the negotiations for a marriage pending between the daughter of a rich citizen Alderman and young Lord Viscount Squanderfield, the dissipated son of a gouty old Earl. Pride and pomposity appear in every accessory surrounding the Earl. He sits in gold lace and velvet — as how should such an Earl wear anything but velvet and gold lace? His coronet is everywhere: on his footstool, on which reposes one gouty toe turned out; on the sconces and looking-glasses; on the dogs;* on his lordship's very crutches; on his great chair of state and the great baldaquin behind him; under which he sits pointing majestically to his pedigree, which shows that his race is sprung from the loins of William the Conqueror, and confronting the old Alderman from the City, who has mounted his sword for the occasion, and wears his Alderman's chain, and has brought a bag full of money, mortgage deeds, and thousand-pound notes, for the arrangement of the transaction pending between them. Whilst the steward † (a Methodist — therefore a hypocrite and cheat: for Hogarth scorned a Papist and a Dissenter) is negotiating between the old couple, their children sit together, united but apart. My lord is admiring his countenance in the glass, while his bride is twiddling her marriage ring on her pocket handkerchief, and listening with rueful countenance to Counsellor Silvertongue, who has been drawing the settlements. The girl is pretty, but the painter, with a curious watchfulness, has taken care to give her a likeness to her father; as in the young Viscount's face you see a resemblance to the Earl his noble sire. The sense of the coronet pervades the picture, as it is supposed to do the mind of its wearer. The pictures round the room are

* [There is no coronet on the dogs in the picture. A coronet was conferred upon one dog in the engraving.]

† [This person is the Alderman's clerk or cashier. The Methodist steward (a different person) appears in the next picture — the breakfast scene.]

sly hints indicating the situation of the parties about to marry. A martyr is led to the fire; Andromeda * is offered to sacrifice; Judith is going to slay Holofernes. There is the ancestor of the house (in the picture it is the Earl himself as a young man), with a comet over his head, indicating that the career of the family is to be brilliant and brief. In the second picture † the old lord must be dead, for Madam has now the Countess's coronet over her bed and toilet glass, and sits listening to that dangerous Counselor Silvertongue, whose portrait now actually hangs up in her room, whilst the counselor takes his ease on the sofa by her side, evidently the familiar of the house, and the confidant of the mistress. My Lord takes his pleasure elsewhere than at home, whither he returns jaded and tipsy from the "Rose," to find his wife yawning in her drawing-room, her whist party over, and the daylight streaming in; or he amuses himself with the very worst company abroad, whilst his wife sits at home listening to foreign singers, or wastes her money at auctions, or, worse still, seeks amusement at masquerades. The dismal end is known. My Lord draws upon the counselor, who kills him, and is apprehended whilst endeavoring to escape. My lady goes back perforce to the Alderman in the City, and faints ‡ upon reading Counselor Silvertongue's dying speech at Tyburn, where the counselor has been executed for sending his Lordship out of the world. Moral: — Don't listen to evil silver-tongued counselors: don't marry a man for his rank, or a woman for her money: don't frequent foolish auctions and masquerade balls unknown to your husband: don't have wicked companions abroad and neglect your wife, otherwise you will be run through the body, and ruin will ensue, and disgrace, and Tyburn. The people are all naughty,

* [This is a mistake. The only person likely to be intended is St. Sebastian. Any reference to the incidents is very doubtful.]

† [Really the fourth.]

‡ [She has taken laudanum and is dead.]

and Bogey carries them all off. In the "Rake's Progress," a loose life is ended by a similar sad catastrophe. It is the spendthrift coming into possession of the wealth of the paternal miser; the prodigal surrounded by flatterers, and wasting his substance on the very worst company; the bailiffs, the gambling-house, and Bedlam for an end. In the famous story of "Industry and Idleness," the moral is pointed in a manner similarly clear. Fair-haired Frank Goodchild smiles at his work, whilst naughty Tom Idle snores over his loom. Frank reads the edifying ballads of "Whittington" and the "London 'Prentice," whilst that reprobate Tom Idle prefers "Moll Flanders," and drinks hugely of beer. Frank goes to church of a Sunday, and warbles hymns from the gallery; while Tom lies on a tombstone outside playing at "halfpenny-under-the-hat" with street blackguards, and is deservedly caned by the beadle. Frank is made overseer of the business, whilst Tom is sent to sea. Frank is taken into partnership and marries his master's daughter, sends out broken victuals to the poor, and listens in his nightcap and gown, with the lovely Mrs. Goodchild by his side, to the nuptial music of the City bands and the marrow-bones and cleavers; whilst idle Tom, returned from sea, shudders in a garret lest the officers are coming to take him for picking pockets. The Worshipful Francis Goodchild, Esquire, becomes Sheriff of London, and partakes of the most splendid dinners which money can purchase or Alderman devour; whilst poor Tom is taken up in a night-cellar, with that one-eyed and disreputable accomplice who first taught him to play chuck-farthing on a Sunday. What happens next? Tom is brought up before the justice of his country, in the person of Mr. Alderman Goodchild, who weeps as he recognizes his old brother 'prentice, as Tom's one-eyed friend peaches on him, and the clerk makes out the poor rogue's ticket for Newgate. Then the end comes. Tom goes to

Tyburn in a cart with a coffin in it; whilst the Right Honorable Francis Goodchild, Lord Mayor of London, proceeds to his Mansion House, in his gilt coach with four footmen and a sword bearer, whilst the Companies of London march in the august procession, whilst the trainbands of the City fire their pieces and get drunk in his honor; and — O crowning delight and glory of all — whilst his Majesty the King * looks out from his royal balcony, with his ribbon on his breast, and his Queen and his star by his side, at the corner house of Saint Paul's Churchyard.

How the times have changed! The new Post Office now not disadvantageously occupies that spot where the scaffolding is in the picture, where the tipsy trainband-man is lurching against the post, with his wig over one eye, and the 'prentice-boy is trying to kiss the pretty girl in the gallery. Passed away 'prentice-boy and pretty girl! Passed away tipsy trainband-man with wig and bandolier! On the spot where Tom Idle (for whom I have an unaffected pity) made his exit from this wicked world, and where you see the hangman smoking his pipe as he reclines on the gibbet and views the hills of Harrow or Hampstead beyond, a splendid marble arch, a vast and modern city — clean, airy, painted drab, populous with nursery maids and children, the abode of wealth and comfort — the elegant, the prosperous, the polite Tyburnia rises, the most respectable district in the habitable globe.

In that last plate of the London Apprentices, in which the apotheosis of the Right Honorable Francis Goodchild is drawn, a ragged fellow is represented in the corner of the simple, kindly piece, offering for sale a broadside, purporting to contain an account of the appearance of the ghost of Tom Idle executed at Tyburn. Could Tom's ghost have made its appearance in 1847, and not in 1747, what changes would

* [Really Frederick, Prince of Wales, with the Princess of Wales.]

have been remarked by that astonished escaped criminal! Over that road which the hangman used to travel constantly, and the Oxford stage twice a week, go ten thousand carriages every day: over yonder road, by which Dick Turpin fled to Windsor, and Squire Western journeyed into town, when he came to take up his quarters at the "Hercules Pillars" on the outskirts of London, what a rush of civilization and order flows now! What armies of gentlemen with umbrellas march to banks, and chambers, and countinghouses! What regiments of nursery maids and pretty infantry, what peaceful processions of policemen, what light broughams and what gay carriages, what swarms of busy apprentices and artificers, riding on omnibus-roofs, pass daily and hourly! Tom Idle's times are quite changed: many of the institutions gone into disuse which were admired in his day. There's more pity and kindness and a better chance for poor Tom's successors now than at that simpler period when Fielding hanged him and Hogarth drew him.

To the student of history, these admirable works must be invaluable, as they give us the most complete and truthful picture of the manners, and even the thoughts, of the past century. We look, and see pass before us the England of a hundred years ago — the peer in his drawing-room, that lady of fashion in her apartment, foreign singers surrounding her, and the chamber filled with gewgaws in the mode of the day; the church, with its quaint florid architecture and singing congregation; the parson with his great wig, and the beadle with his cane: all these are represented before us, and we are sure of the truth of the portrait. We see how the Lord Mayor dines in state; how the prodigal drinks and sports at the bagnio; how the poor girl beats hemp in Bridewell; how the thief divides his booty and drinks his punch at the night-cellar, and how he finishes his career at the gibbet. We may depend upon the perfect accuracy of these strange

and varied portraits of the bygone generation: we see one of Walpole's Members of Parliament chaired after his election, and the lieges celebrating the event, and drinking confusion to the Pretender: we see the grenadiers and train-bands of the City marching out to meet the enemy; and have before us, with sword and firelock, and "White Hanoverian Horse" embroidered on the cap, the very figures of the men who ran away with Johnny Cope, and who conquered at Culloden. The Yorkshire wagon rolls into the inn yard; the country parson, in his jack-boots, and his bands and short cassock, comes trotting into town, and we fancy it is Parson Adams, with his sermons in his pocket. The Salisbury fly sets forth from the old "Angel" — you see the passengers entering the great heavy vehicle, up the wooden steps, their hats tied down with handkerchiefs over their faces, and under their arms, sword, hanger, and case-bottle; the landlady — apoplectic with the liquors in her own bar — is tugging at the bell; the hunchbacked postilion — he may have ridden the leaders to Humphrey Clinker — is begging a gratuity; the miser is grumbling at the bill; Jack of the "Centurion" lies on the top of the clumsy vehicle, with a soldier by his side * — it may be Smollett's Jack Hatchway — it has a likeness to Lismahago. You see the suburban fair and the strolling company of actors; the pretty milkmaid singing under the windows of the enraged French musician: it is such a girl as Steele charmingly described in the *Guardian*, a few years before this date,† singing, under Mr. Ironside's window in Shire Lane, her pleasant carol of a May morning. You see noblemen and blacklegs bawling and betting in the Cockpit: you see Garrick as he was arrayed in "King Richard"; Macheath and Polly in the dresses which they wore when they charmed our ancestors, and when noblemen in

* [The commentators say that the soldier is a Frenchman.]

† [The *Guardian* ended in 1713. The "enraged musician" is dated 1741.]

blue ribbons sat on the stage and listened to their delightful music. You see the ragged French soldiery, in their white coats and cockades, at Calais Gate: they are of the regiment, very likely, which friend Roderick Random joined before he was rescued by his preserver Monsieur de Strap, with whom he fought on the famous day of Dettingen. You see the judges on the bench; the audience laughing in the pit; the student in the Oxford theater; the citizen on his country walk; you see Broughton the boxer, Sarah Malcolm the murderess, Simon Lovat the traitor, John Wilkes the demagogue, leering at you with that squint which has become historical, and that face which, ugly as it was, he said he could make as captivating to woman as the countenance of the handsomest beau in town. All these sights and people are with you. After looking in the "Rake's Progress" at Hogarth's picture of Saint James's Palace Gate, you may people the street, but little altered within these hundred years, with the gilded carriages and thronging chairmen that bore the courtiers your ancestors to Queen Caroline's drawing-room more than a hundred years ago.

What manner of man * was he who executed these portraits

* Hogarth (whose family name was Hogart) was the grandson of a Westmoreland yeoman. His father came to London, and was an author and schoolmaster. William was born 10th November 1697, in the parish of Saint Martin, Ludgate. He was early apprenticed to an engraver of arms on plate. The following touches are from his *Anecdotes of Himself* (Edition of 1833): —

"As I had naturally a good eye, and a fondness for drawing, shows of all sorts gave me uncommon pleasure when an infant; and mimicry, common to all children, was remarkable in me. An early access to a neighboring painter drew my attention from play; and I was, at every possible opportunity, employed in making drawings. I picked up an acquaintance of the same turn, and soon learnt to draw the alphabet with great correctness. My exercises, when at school, were more remarkable for the ornaments which adorned them, than for the exercise itself. In the former, I soon found that blockheads with better memories could much surpass me; but for the latter I was particularly distinguished. . . .

"I thought it still more unlikely that by pursuing the common method, and copying *old* drawings, I could ever attain the power of making *new* designs,

— so various, so faithful, and so admirable? In the National Collection of Pictures most of us have seen the best and most

which was my first and greatest ambition. I therefore endeavored to habituate myself to the exercise of a sort of technical memory; and by repeating in my own mind the parts of which objects were composed, I could by degrees combine and put them down with my pencil. Thus, with all the drawbacks which resulted from the circumstances I have mentioned, I had one material advantage over my competitors, viz. the early habit I thus acquired of retaining in my mind's eye, without coldly copying it on the spot, whatever I intended to imitate.

"The instant I became master of my own time, I determined to qualify myself for engraving on copper. In this I readily got employment; and frontispieces to books, such as prints to *Hudibras*, in twelves, &c., soon brought me into the way. But the tribe of booksellers remained as my father had left them . . . which put me upon publishing on my own account. But here again I had to encounter a monopoly of printsellers, equally mean and destructive to the ingenious; for the first plate I published, called 'The Taste of the Town,' in which the reigning follies were lashed, had no sooner begun to take a run, than I found copies of it in the print shops, vending at half price, while the original prints were returned to me again, and I was thus obliged to sell the plate for whatever these pirates pleased to give me, as there was no place of sale but at their shops. Owing to this, and other circumstances, by engraving, until I was nearly thirty, I could do little more than maintain myself; *but even then I was a punctual paymaster.*

"I then married, and ——"

[But William is going too fast here. He made a "stolen union," on March 23, 1729, with Jane, daughter of Sir James Thornhill, sergeant-painter. For some time Sir James kept his heart and his purse strings close, but "soon after became both reconciled and generous to the young couple." — *Hogarth's Works*, by Nichols and Steevens, vol. i. p. 44.]

" — commenced painter of small Conversation Pieces, from twelve to fifteen inches high. This, being a novelty, succeeded for a few years."

[About this time Hogarth had summer lodgings at South Lambeth, and did all kinds of work, "embellishing" the "Spring Gardens" at "Vauxhall," and the like. In 1731 he published a satirical plate against Pope, founded on the well-known imputation against him of his having satirized the Duke of Chandos, under the name of *Timon*, in his poem on "Taste." The plate represented a view of Burlington House, with Pope whitewashing it, and bespattering the Duke of Chandos's coach. Pope made no retort, and has never mentioned Hogarth.]

"Before I had done anything of much consequence in this walk, I entertained some hopes of succeeding in what the puffers in books call *The Great Style of History Painting;* so that without having had a stroke of this *grand* business before, I quitted small portraits and familiar conversations, and with a smile at my own temerity, commenced history-painter, and on a great staircase at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, painted two Scripture stories, the 'Pool

carefully finished series of his comic paintings, and the portrait of his own honest face, of which the bright blue eyes

of Bethesda' and the 'Good Samaritan,' with figures seven feet high. . . . But as religion, the great promoter of this style in other countries, rejected it in England, I was unwilling to sink into a *portrait manufacturer;* and, still ambitious of being singular, dropped all expectations of advantage from that source, and returned to the pursuit of my former dealings with the public at large.

"As to portrait painting, the chief branch of the art by which a painter can procure himself a tolerable livelihood, and the only one by which a lover of money can get a fortune, a man of very moderate talents may have great success in it, as the artifice and address of a mercer is infinitely more useful than the abilities of a painter. By the manner in which the present race of professors in England conduct it, that also becomes still life."

. . . . . .

"By this inundation of folly and puff" (*he has been speaking of the success of Vanloo, who came over here in* 1737), "I must confess I was much disgusted, and determined to try if by any means I could stem the torrent, and, *by opposing, end it.* I laughed at the pretensions of these quacks in coloring, ridiculed their productions as feeble and contemptible, and asserted that it required neither taste nor talents to excel their most popular performances. This interference excited much enmity, because, as my opponents told me, my studies were in another way. 'You talk,' added they, 'with ineffable contempt of portrait-painting; if it is so easy a task, why do not you convince the world by painting a portrait yourself?' Provoked at this language, I, one day at the Academy in St. Martin's Lane, put the following question: 'Supposing any man, at this time, were to paint a portrait as well as Vandyke, would it be seen or acknowledged, and could the artist enjoy the benefit or acquire the reputation due to his performance?'

"They asked me in reply, if I could paint one as well; and I frankly answered, I believed I could. . . .

"Of the mighty talents said to be requisite for portrait painting I had not the most exalted opinion."

Let us now hear him on the question of the Academy: —

"To pester the three great estates of the empire, about twenty or thirty students drawing after a man or a horse, appears, as must be acknowledged, foolish enough: but the real motive is, that a few bustling characters, who have access to people of rank, think they can thus get a superiority over their brethren, be appointed to places, and have salaries, as in France, for telling a lad when a leg or an arm is too long or too short. . . .

"France, ever aping the magnificence of other nations, has in its turn assumed a foppish kind of splendor sufficient to dazzle the eyes of the neighboring states, and draw vast sums of money from this country. . . ,

"To return to our Royal Academy: I am told that one of their leading objects will be, sending young men abroad to study the antique statues, for

shine out from the canvas and give you an idea of that keen and brave look with which William Hogarth regarded the

such kind of studies may sometimes improve an exalted genius, but they will not create it; and whatever has been the cause, this same traveling to Italy has, in several instances that I have seen, seduced the student from nature and led him to paint marble figures, in which he has availed himself of the great works of antiquity, as a coward does when he puts on the armor of an Alexander; for, with similar pretensions and similar vanity, the painter supposes he shall be adored as a second Raphael Urbino."

We must now hear him on his "Sigismunda:" —

"As the most violent and virulent abuse thrown on 'Sigismunda' was from a set of miscreants, with whom I am proud of having been ever at war — I mean the expounders of the mysteries of old pictures — I have been sometimes told they were beneath my notice. This is true of them individually; but as they have access to people of rank, who seem as happy in being cheated as these *merchants* are in cheating them, they have a power of doing much mischief to a modern artist. However mean the vendor of poisons, the mineral is destructive: — to me its operation was troublesome enough. Ill nature spreads so fast that now was the time for every little dog in the profession to bark!"

Next comes a characteristic account of his controversy with Wilkes and Churchill.

"The stagnation rendered it necessary that I should do some *timed thing*, to recover my lost time, and stop a gap in my income. This drew forth my print of 'The Times,' a subject which tended to the restoration of peace and unanimity, and put the opposers of these humane objects in a light which gave great offense to those who were trying to foment disaffection in the minds of the populace. One of the most notorious of them, till now my friend and flatterer, attacked me in the *North Briton*, in so infamous and malign a style, that he himself, when pushed even by his best friends, was driven to so poor an excuse as to say he was drunk when he wrote it. . . .

"This renowned patriot's portrait, drawn like as I could as to features, and marked with some indications of his mind, fully answered my purpose. The ridiculous was apparent to every eye! A Brutus! A saviour of his country with such an aspect — was so arrant a farce, that though it gave rise to much laughter in the lookers-on, galled both him and his adherents to the bone. . . .

"Churchill, Wilkes's toad-echo, put the *North Briton* attack into verse, in an Epistle to Hogarth; but as the abuse was precisely the same, except a little poetical heightening, which goes for nothing, it made no impression. . . . However, having an old plate by me, with some parts ready, such as the background and a dog, I began to consider how I could turn so much work laid aside to some account, and so patched up a print of Master Churchill in the character of a Bear. The pleasure and pecuniary advantage which I derived from these two engravings, together with occasionally riding on horseback, restored me to as much health as can be expected at my time of life."

world. No man was ever less of a hero; you see him before you, and can fancy what he was — a jovial, honest London citizen, stout and sturdy; a hearty, plain-spoken man,* loving his laugh, his friend, his glass, his roast beef of Old England, and having a proper *bourgeois* scorn for French frogs, for mounseers, and wooden shoes in general, for foreign fiddlers, foreign singers, and, above all, for foreign painters, whom he held in the most amusing contempt.

It must have been great fun to hear him rage against Correggio and the Caracci; to watch him thump the table and snap his fingers, and say, "Historical painters be hanged! here's the man that will paint against any of them for a hundred pounds. Correggio's 'Sigismunda'! Look at Bill Hogarth's 'Sigismunda'; look at my altarpiece at Saint Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; look at my 'Paul before Felix,' and see whether I'm not as good as the best of them." †

* "It happened, in the early part of Hogarth's life, that a nobleman who was uncommonly ugly and deformed came to sit to him for his picture. It was executed with a skill that did honor to the artist's abilities; but the likeness was rigidly observed, without even the necessary attention to compliment or flattery. The peer, disgusted at this counterpart of himself, never once thought of paying for a reflection that would only disgust him with his deformities. Some time was suffered to elapse before the artist applied for his money; but afterwards many applications were made by him (who had then no need of a banker) for payment, without success. The painter, however, at last hit upon an expedient. . . . It was couched in the following card: —

"'Mr. Hogarth's dutiful respects to Lord ——. Finding that he does not mean to have the picture which was drawn for him, is informed again of Mr. Hogarth's necessity for the money. If, therefore, his Lordship does not send for it, in three days it will be disposed of, with the addition of a tail, and some other little appendages, to Mr. Hare, the famous wild-beast man: Mr. Hogarth having given that gentleman a conditional promise of it, for an exhibition-picture, on his Lordship's refusal.'

"This intimation had the desired effect." — *Works* by NICHOLS and STEEVENS, vol. i. p. 25.

† "Garrick himself was not more ductile to flattery. A word in favor of 'Sigismunda' might have commanded a proof-print or forced an original print out of our artist's hands. . . .

"The following authenticated story of our artist (furnished by the late Mr. Belchier, F.R.S., a surgeon of eminence) will also serve to show how much

Posterity has not quite confirmed honest Hogarth's opinion about his talents for the sublime. Although Swift could not see the difference between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, posterity has not shared the Dean's contempt for Handel; the world has discovered a difference between tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, and given a hearty applause and admiration to Hogarth, too, but not exactly as a painter of scriptural subjects, or as a rival of Correggio. It does not take away from one's liking for the man, or from the moral of his story, or the humor of it — from one's admiration for the prodigious merit of his performances, to remember that he persisted to the last in believing that the world was in a conspiracy against him with respect to his talents as an historical painter, and that a set of miscreants, as he called them, were employed to run his genius down. They say it was Liston's firm belief, that he was a great and neglected tragic actor; they say that every one of us believes in his heart, or would like to have others believe, that he is something which he is not. One of the most notorious of the "miscreants," Hogarth says, was Wilkes, who assailed him in the *North Briton;* the other was Churchill, who put the *North Briton* attack into heroic verse, and published his "Epistle to Hogarth." Hogarth replied by that caricature of Wilkes, in which the patriot still figures before us, with his Satanic grin and squint, and by a caricature of Churchill, in which he is represented as a bear with

more easy it is to detect ill-placed or hyperbolical adulation respecting others, than when applied to ourselves. Hogarth, being at dinner with the great Cheselden and some other company, was told that Mr. John Freke, surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a few evenings before at Dick's Coffeehouse, had asserted that Greene was as eminent in composition as Handel. 'That fellow Freke,' replied Hogarth, 'is always shooting his bolt absurdly, one way or another. Handel is a giant in music; Greene only a light Florimel kind of a composer.' 'Ay,' says our artist's informant, 'but at the same time Mr. Freke declared you were as good a portrait-painter as Vandyke.' '*There* he was right,' adds Hogarth, 'and so, by G——, I am, give me my time and let me choose my subject.'" — *Works,* by NICHOLS and STEEVENS, vol. i. pp. 236, 237.

a staff, on which lie the first, lie the second — lie the tenth, are engraved in unmistakable letters. There is very little mistake about honest Hogarth's satire: if he has to paint a man with his throat cut, he draws him with his head almost off; and he tried to do the same for his enemies in this little controversy. "Having an old plate by me," says he, "with some parts ready, such as the background, and a dog, I began to consider how I could turn so much work laid aside to some account, and so patched up a print of Master Churchill, in the character of a bear; the pleasure and pecuniary advantage which I derived from these two engravings, together with occasionally riding on horseback, restored me to as much health as I can expect at my time of life."

And so he concludes his queer little book of Anecdotes: "I have gone through the circumstances of a life which till lately passed pretty much to my own satisfaction, and I hope in no respect injurious to any other man. This I may safely assert, that I have done my best to make those about me tolerably happy, and my greatest enemy cannot say I ever did an intentional injury. What may follow, God knows." *

A queer account still exists of a holiday jaunt taken by Hogarth and four friends of his, who set out like the redoubted Mr. Pickwick and his companions, but just a hundred years before those heroes; and made an excursion to Gravesend, Rochester, Sheerness, and adjacent places.† One of the gentlemen noted down the proceedings of the journey, for which Hogarth and a brother artist made drawings. The book is chiefly curious at this moment from showing the citi-

* Of Hogarth's kindliness of disposition, the story of his rescue of the drummer-girl from the ruffian at Southwark Fair is an illustration; and in this case virtue was not its own reward, since her pretty face afterwards served him for a model in many a picture.

† He made this excursion in 1732, his companions being John Thornhill (son of Sir James), Scott the landscape painter, Tothall, and Forrest. [The account was first published in 1782, and is in the third volume of the "Genuine Works," 1817.]

zen life of those days, and the rough jolly style of merriment, not of the five companions merely, but of thousands of jolly fellows of their time. Hogarth and his friends, quitting the "Bedford Arms," Covent Garden, with a song, took water to Billingsgate, exchanging compliments with the bargemen as they went down the river. At Billingsgate Hogarth made a "caracatura" of a facetious porter, called the Duke of Puddledock, who agreeably entertained the party with the humors of the place. Hence they took a Gravesend boat for themselves; had straw to lie upon, and a tilt over their heads, they say, and went down the river at night, sleeping and singing jolly choruses.

They arrived at Gravesend at six, when they washed their faces and hands, and had their wigs powdered. Then they sallied forth for Rochester on foot, and drank by the way three pots of ale. At one o'clock they went to dinner with excellent port, and a quantity more beer, and afterwards Hogarth and Scott played at hopscotch in the town hall. It would appear that they slept most of them in one room, and the chronicler of the party describes them all as waking at seven o'clock, and telling each other their dreams. You have rough sketches by Hogarth of the incidents of this holiday excursion. The sturdy little painter is seen sprawling over a plank to a boat at Gravesend; the whole company are represented in one design, in a fisherman's room, where they had all passed the night. One gentleman in a nightcap is shaving himself; another is being shaved by the fisherman; a third, with a handkerchief over his bald pate, is taking his breakfast; and Hogarth is sketching the whole scene.

They describe at night how they returned to their quarters, drank to their friends, as usual, emptied several cans of good flip, all singing merrily.

It is a jolly party of tradesmen engaged at high jinks. These were the manners and pleasures of Hogarth, of his

time very likely, of men not very refined, but honest and merry. It is a brave London citizen, with John Bull habits, prejudices, and pleasures.*

Of SMOLLETT's associates and manner of life the author of the admirable "Humphrey Clinker" has given us an interesting account in that most amusing of novels.† 5

* Doctor Johnson made four lines once, on the death of poor Hogarth, which were equally true and pleasing; I know not why Garrick's were preferred to them:

"'The hand of him here torpid lies,
That drew th' essential forms of grace;
Here, closed in death, th' attentive eyes,
That saw the manners in the face.'"

[Johnson's lines were only a suggested emendation upon the first form of the verses, submitted to him by Garrick for criticism. — BOSWELL's *Johnson* (Birkbeck Hill), i. 187.]

"Mr. Hogarth, among the variety of kindnesses shown to me when I was too young to have a proper sense of them, was used to be very earnest that I should obtain the acquaintance, and if possible the friendship, of Doctor Johnson; whose conversation was, to the talk of other men, like Titian's painting compared to Hudson's, he said: 'but don't you tell people now that I say so,' continued he, 'for the connoisseurs and I are at war, you know; and because I hate *them*, they think I hate *Titian* — and let them!' . . . Of Dr. Johnson, when my father and he were talking about him one day, 'That man,' says Hogarth, 'is not contented with believing the Bible; but he fairly resolves, I think, to believe nothing *but* the Bible. Johnson,' added he, 'thought so wise a fellow, is more like King David than King Solomon, for he says in his haste, *All men are liars.*'" — *Mrs. Piozzi.*

Hogarth died on the 26th of October 1764. The day before his death, he was removed from his villa at Chiswick to Leicester Fields, "in a very weak condition, yet remarkably cheerful." He had just received an agreeable letter from Franklin. He lies buried at Chiswick.

† *To Sir Watkin Phillips, Bart., of Jesus College, Oxon*

"DEAR PHILLIPS, — In my last, I mentioned my having spent an evening with a society of authors, who seemed to be jealous and afraid of one another. My uncle was not at all surprised to hear me say I was disappointed in their conversation. 'A man may be very entertaining and instructive upon paper,' said he, 'and exceedingly dull in common discourse. I have observed, that those who shine most in private company are but secondary stars in the constellation of genius. A small stock of ideas is more easily managed, and sooner displayed, than a great quantity crowded together. There is very seldom anything extraordinary in the appearance and address of a good writer; whereas a

I have no doubt that this picture by Smollett is as faithful a one as any from the pencil of his kindred humorist, Hogarth.

We have before us, and painted by his own hand, Tobias Smollett, the manly, kindly, honest, and irascible; worn and

dull author generally distinguishes himself by some oddity or extravagance. For this reason I fancy that an assembly of grubs must be very diverting.'

"My curiosity being excited by this hint, I consulted my friend Dick Ivy, who undertook to gratify it the very next day, which was Sunday last. He carried me to dine with S——, whom you and I have long known by his writings. He lives in the skirts of the town; and every Sunday his house is open to all unfortunate brothers of the quill, whom he treats with beef, pudding, and potatoes, port, punch, and Calvert's entire butt beer. He has fixed upon the first day of the week for the exercise of his hospitality, because some of his guests could not enjoy it on any other, for reasons that I need not explain. I was civilly received in a plain, yet decent habitation, which opened backwards into a very pleasant garden, kept in excellent order; and, indeed, I saw none of the outward signs of authorship either in the house or the landlord, who is one of those few writers of the age that stand upon their own foundation, without patronage, and above dependence. If there was nothing characteristic in the entertainer, the company made ample amends for his want of singularity.

"At two in the afternoon, I found myself one of ten messmates seated at table; and I question if the whole kingdom could produce such another assemblage of originals. Among their peculiarities, I do not mention those of dress, which may be purely accidental. What struck me were oddities originally produced by affectation, and afterwards confirmed by habit. One of them wore spectacles at dinner, and another his hat flapped; though (as Ivy told me) the first was noted for having a seaman's eye when a bailiff was in the wind; and the other was never known to labor under any weakness or defect of vision, except about five years ago, when he was complimented with a couple of black eyes by a player, with whom he had quarreled in his drink. A third wore a laced stocking, and made use of crutches, because, once in his life, he had been laid up with a broken leg, though no man could leap over a stick with more agility. A fourth had contracted such an antipathy to the country, that he insisted upon sitting with his back towards the window that looked into the garden; and when a dish of cauliflower was set upon the table, he snuffed up volatile salts to keep him from fainting; yet this delicate person was the son of a cottager, born under a hedge, and had many years run wild among asses on a common. A fifth affected distraction; when spoke to, he always answered from the purpose. Sometimes he suddenly started up, and rapped out a dreadful oath; sometimes he burst out a laughing; then he folded his arms, and sighed; and then he hissed like fifty serpents.

"At first, I really thought he was mad; and, as he sat near me, began to

battered, but still brave and full of heart, after a long struggle against a hard fortune. His brain had been busied with a hundred different schemes; he had been reviewer and historian, critic, medical writer, poet, pamphleteer. He had fought endless literary battles; and braved and wielded for 5

be under some apprehensions for my own safety; when our landlord, perceiving me alarmed, assured me aloud that I had nothing to fear. 'The gentleman,' said he, 'is trying to act a part for which he is by no means qualified; if he had all the inclination in the world, it is not in his power to be mad; his spirits are too flat to be kindled into phrenzy.' ''Tis no bad p-p-puff, how-owever,' observed a person in a tarnished laced coat: 'aff-ffected m-madness w-ill p-pass for w-wit w-with nine-nineteen out of t-twenty.' 'And affected stuttering for humor,' replied our landlord; 'though, God knows! there is no affinity between them.' It seems this wag, after having made some abortive attempts in plain speaking, had recourse to this defect, by means of which he frequently extorted the laugh of the company, without the least expense of genius; and that imperfection, which he had at first counterfeited, was now become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside.

"A certain winking genius, who wore yellow gloves at dinner, had, on his first introduction, taken such offense at Si——, because he looked and talked, and ate and drank, like any other man, that he spoke contemptuously of his understanding ever after, and never would repeat his visit, until he had exhibited the following proof of his caprice. Wat Wyvil, the poet, having made some unsuccessful advances towards an intimacy with S——, at last gave him to understand, by a third person, that he had written a poem in his praise, and a satire against his person: that if he would admit him to his house, the first should be immediately sent to press; but that if he persisted in declining his friendship, he would publish the satire without delay. S—— replied, that he looked upon Wyvil's panegyric as, in effect, a species of infamy, and would resent it accordingly with a good cudgel; but if he published the satire, he might deserve his compassion, and had nothing to fear from his revenge. Wyvil having considered the alternative, resolved to mortify S—— by printing the panegyric, for which he received a sound drubbing. Then he swore the peace against the aggressor, who, in order to avoid a prosecution at law, admitted him to his good graces. It was the singularity in S——'s conduct on this occasion, that reconciled him to the yellow-gloved philosopher, who owned he had some genius; and from that period cultivated his acquaintance.

"Curious to know upon what subjects the several talents of my fellow-guests were employed, I applied to my communicative friend Dick Ivy, who gave me to understand that most of them were, or had been, understrappers, or journeymen, to more creditable authors, for whom they translated, collated, and compiled, in the business of bookmaking; and that all of them had, at different times, labored in the service of our landlord, though they had now set up for themselves

years the cudgels of controversy. It was a hard and savage fight in those days, and a niggard pay. He was oppressed by illness, age, narrow fortune; but his spirit was still resolute, and his courage steady; the battle over, he could do justice to the enemy with whom he had been so fiercely en-

in various departments of literature. Not only their talents, but also their nations and dialects, were so various, that our conversation resembled the confusion of tongues at Babel. We had the Irish brogue, the Scotch accent, and foreign idiom, twanged off by the most discordant vociferation; for as they all spoke together, no man had any chance to be heard, unless he could bawl louder than his fellows. It must be owned, however, there was nothing pedantic in their discourse; they carefully avoided all learned disquisitions, and endeavored to be facetious: nor did their endeavors always miscarry; some droll repartee passed, and much laughter was excited; and if any individual lost his temper so far as to transgress the bounds of decorum, he was effectually checked by the master of the feast, who exerted a sort of paternal authority over this irritable tribe.

"The most learned philosopher of the whole collection, who had been expelled the university for atheism, has made great progress in a refutation of Lord Bolingbroke's metaphysical works, which is said to be equally ingenious and orthodox; but, in the meantime, he has been presented to the grand jury as a public nuisance for having blasphemed in an alehouse on the Lord's day. The Scotchman gives lectures on the pronunciation of the English language, which he is now publishing by subscription.

"The Irishman is a political writer, and goes by the name of My Lord Potatoe. He wrote a pamphlet in vindication of a Minister, hoping his zeal would be rewarded with some place or pension; but finding himself neglected in that quarter, he whispered about that the pamphlet was written by the Minister himself, and he published an answer to his own production. In this he addressed the author under the title of 'your Lordship,' with such solemnity, that the public swallowed the deceit, and bought up the whole impression. The wise politicians of the metropolis declared they were both masterly performances, and chuckled over the flimsy reveries of an ignorant garreteer, as the profound speculations of a veteran statesman, acquainted with all the secrets of the cabinet. The imposture was detected in the sequel, and our Hibernian pamphleteer retains no part of his assumed importance but the bare title of 'my Lord,' and the upper part of the table at the potatoe-ordinary in Shoe Lane.

"Opposite to me sat a Piedmontese, who had obliged the public with a humorous satire, entitled *The Balance of the English Poets;* a performance which evinced the great modesty and taste of the author, and, in particular, his intimacy with the elegancies of the English language. The sage, who labored under the ἀγροφοβία, or 'horror of green fields,' had just finished a treatise on practical agriculture, though, in fact, he had never seen corn growing in his life,

gaged, and give a not unfriendly grasp to the hand that had mauled him. He is like one of those Scotch cadets, of whom history gives us so many examples, and whom, with a national fidelity, the great Scotch novelist has painted so charmingly. Of gentle birth* and narrow means, going out from his north- 5

and was so ignorant of grain, that our entertainer, in the face of the whole company, made him own that a plate of hominy was the best rice pudding he had ever eat.

"The stutterer had almost finished his travels through Europe and part of Asia, without ever budging beyond the liberties of the King's Bench, except in term-time with a tipstaff for his companion; and as for little Tim Cropdale, the most facetious member of the whole society, he had happily wound up the catastrophe of a virgin tragedy, from the exhibition of which he promised himself a large fund of profit and reputation. Tim had made shift to live many years by writing novels, at the rate of five pounds a volume; but that branch of business is now engrossed by female authors, who publish merely for the propagation of virtue, with so much ease, and spirit, and delicacy, and knowledge of the human heart, and all in the serene tranquillity of high life, that the reader is not only enchanted by their genius, but reformed by their morality.

"After dinner, we adjourned into the garden, where I observed Mr. S—— give a short separate audience to every individual in a small remote filbert-walk, from whence most of them dropped off one after another, without further ceremony."

Smollett's house was in Lawrence Lane, Chelsea, and is now destroyed. — See *Handbook of London*, p. 115.

"The person of Smollett was eminently handsome, his features prepossessing, and, by the joint testimony of all his surviving friends, his conversation, in the highest degree, instructive and amusing. Of his disposition, those who have read his works (and who has not?) may form a very accurate estimate; for in each of them he has presented, and sometimes under various points of view, the leading features of his own character without disguising the most unfavorable of them. . . . When unseduced by his satirical propensities, he was kind, generous, and humane to others; bold, upright, and independent in his own character; stooped to no patron, sued for no favor, but honestly and honorably maintained himself on his literary labors. . . . He was a doting father and an affectionate husband; and the warm zeal with which his memory was cherished by his surviving friends showed clearly the reliance which they placed upon his regard." — *Sir Walter Scott.*

* Smollett of Bonhill, in Dumbartonshire. *Arms*, azure, a bend, or, between a lion rampant, ppr., holding in his paw a banner, argent, and a bugle horn, also ppr. *Crest*, an oak tree, ppr. *Motto*, *Viresco*.

Smollett's father, Archibald, was the fourth son of Sir James Smollett of Bonhill, a Scotch Judge and Member of Parliament, and one of the commis-

ern home to win his fortune in the world, and to fight his way, armed with courage, hunger, and keen wits. His crest is a shattered oak tree, with green leaves yet springing from it. On his ancient coat-of-arms there is a lion and a horn; this shield of his was battered and dinted in a hundred fights and brawls,* through which the stout Scotchman bore it courage-

sioners for framing the Union with England. Archibald married, without the old gentleman's consent, and died early, leaving his children dependent on their grandfather. Tobias, the second son, was born in 1721, in the old house of Dalquharn in the valley of Leven; and all his life loved and admired that valley and Loch Lomond beyond all the valleys and lakes in Europe. He learned the "rudiments" at Dumbarton Grammar School, and studied at Glasgow.

But when he was only ten, his grandfather died, and left him without provision (figuring as the old judge in *Roderick Random* in consequence, according to Sir Walter). Tobias, armed with the *Regicide, a Tragedy* — a provision precisely similar to that with which Doctor Johnson had started, just before — came up to London. The *Regicide* came to no good, though at first patronized by Lord Lyttelton ("one of those little fellows who are sometimes called great men," Smollett says); and Smollett embarked as "surgeon's mate" on board a line-of-battle ship, and served in the Carthagena expedition, in 1741. He left the service in the West Indies, and, after residing some time in Jamaica, returned to England in 1746.

He was now unsuccessful as a physician, to begin with; published the satires, *Advice and Reproof*, without any luck; and (1747) married the "beautiful and accomplished Miss Lascelles."

In 1748 he brought out his *Roderick Random*, which at once made a "hit." The subsequent events of his life may be presented, chronologically, in a bird's-eye view: —

1750. Made a tour to Paris, where he chiefly wrote *Peregrine Pickle*.
1751. Published *Peregrine Pickle*.
1753. Published *Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*.
1755. Published version of *Don Quixote*.
1756. Began the *Critical Review*.
1758. Published his *History of England*.
1763–1766. Traveling in France and Italy; published his *Travels*.
1769. Published *Adventures of an Atom*.
1770. Set out for Italy; died at Leghorn, 21st of October 1771, in the fifty-first year of his age.

* A good specimen of the old "slashing" style of writing is presented by the paragraph on Admiral Knowles, which subjected Smollett to prosecution and imprisonment. The admiral's defense on the occasion of the failure of the

ously. You see somehow that he is a gentleman, through all his battling and struggling, his poverty, his hard-fought successes, and his defeats. His novels are recollections of his own adventures; his characters drawn, as I should think, from personages with whom he became acquainted in his own career of life. Strange companions he must have had; queer acquaintances he made in the Glasgow College — in the country apothecary's shop; in the gun room of the man-of-

Rochefort expedition came to be examined before the tribunal of the *Critical Review*.

"He is," said our author, "an admiral without conduct, an engineer without knowledge, an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity!"

Three months' imprisonment in the King's Bench avenged this stinging paragraph.

But the *Critical* was to Smollett a perpetual fountain of "hot water." Among less important controversies may be mentioned that with Grainger, the translator of Tibullus. Grainger replied in a pamphlet; and in the next number of the Review we find him threatened with "castigation," as an "owl that has broken from his mew!"

In Doctor Moore's biography of him is a pleasant anecdote. After publishing the *Don Quixote*, he returned to Scotland to pay a visit to his mother: —

"On Smollett's arrival, he was introduced to his mother with the connivance of Mrs. Telfer (her daughter), as a gentleman from the West Indies, who was intimately acquainted with her son. The better to support his assumed character, he endeavored to preserve a serious countenance, approaching to a frown; but while his mother's eyes were riveted on his countenance, he could not refrain from smiling: she immediately sprung from her chair, and throwing her arms round his neck, exclaimed, 'Ah, my son! my son! I have found you at last!'

"She afterwards told him, that if he had kept his austere looks and continued to *gloom*, he might have escaped detection some time longer, but 'your old roguish smile,' added she, 'betrayed you at once.'

"Shortly after the publication of *The Adventures of an Atom*, disease again attacked Smollett with redoubled violence. Attempts being vainly made to obtain for him the office of Consul in some part of the Mediterranean, he was compelled to seek a warmer climate, without better means of provision than his own precarious finances could afford. The kindness of his distinguished friend and countryman, Dr. Armstrong (then abroad), procured for Dr. and Mrs. Smollett a house at Monte Nero, a village situated on the side of a mountain overlooking the sea, in the neighborhood of Leghorn, a romantic and salutary abode, where he prepared for the press the last, and, like music 'sweetest in the close,' the most pleasing of his compositions, *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker*. This delightful work was published in 1771." — *Sir Walter Scott.*

war where he served as surgeon; and in the hard life on shore, where the sturdy adventurer struggled for fortune. He did not invent much, as I fancy, but had the keenest perceptive faculty, and described what he saw with wonderful relish and delightful broad humor. I think Uncle Bowling, in "Roderick Random," is as good a character as Squire Western himself; and Mr. Morgan, the Welsh apothecary, is as pleasant as Doctor Caius. What man who has made his inestimable acquaintance — what novel-reader who loves Don Quixote and Major Dalgetty — will refuse his most cordial acknowledgments to the admirable Lieutenant Lismahago? The novel of "Humphrey Clinker" is, I do think, the most laughable story that has ever been written since the goodly art of novel writing began. Winifred Jenkins and Tabitha Bramble must keep Englishmen on the grin for ages yet to come; and in their letters and the story of their loves there is a perpetual fount of sparkling laughter, as inexhaustible as Bladud's well.

Fielding, too, has described, though with a greater hand, the characters and scenes which he knew and saw. He had more than ordinary opportunities for becoming acquainted with life. His family and education, first — his fortunes and misfortunes afterwards, brought him into the society of every rank and condition of man. He is himself the hero of his books: he is wild Tom Jones, he is wild Captain Booth; less wild, I am glad to think, than his predecessor: at least heartily conscious of demerit, and anxious to amend.

When Fielding first came upon the town in 1727, the recollection of the great wits was still fresh in the coffeehouses and assemblies, and the judges there declared that young Harry Fielding had more spirits and wit than Congreve or any of his brilliant successors. His figure was tall and stalwart; his face handsome, manly, and noble-looking; to the

very last days of his life he retained a grandeur of air, and although worn down by disease, his aspect and presence imposed respect upon the people round about him.

A dispute took place between Mr. Fielding and the captain* of the ship in which he was making his last voyage, and Fielding relates how the man finally went down on his knees, and begged his passenger's pardon. He was living up to the last days of his life, and his spirit never gave in. His vital power must have been immensely strong. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu† prettily characterizes Fielding and this capacity for happiness which he possessed, in a little notice of his death when she compares him to Steele, who was as improvident and as happy as he was, and says that both

* The dispute with the captain arose from the wish of that functionary to intrude on his right to his cabin, for which he had paid thirty pounds. After recounting the circumstances of the apology, he characteristically adds: —

"And here, that I may not be thought the sly trumpeter of my own praises, I do utterly disclaim all praise on the occasion. Neither did the greatness of my mind dictate, nor the force of my Christianity exact this forgiveness. To speak truth, I forgave him from a motive which would make men much more forgiving, if they were much wiser than they are: because it was convenient for me so to do."

† Lady Mary was his second cousin — their respective grandfathers being sons of George Fielding, Earl of Desmond, son of William, Earl of Denbigh.

In a letter dated just a week before his death, she says: —

"H. Fielding has given a true picture of himself and his first wife in the characters of *Mr.* and *Mrs. Booth*, some compliments to his own figure excepted; and I am persuaded, several of the incidents he mentions are real matters of fact. I wonder he does not perceive *Tom Jones* and *Mr. Booth* are sorry scoundrels. . . . Fielding has really a fund of true humor, and was to be pitied at his first entrance into the world, having no choice, as he said himself, but to be a hackney writer or a hackney coachman. His genius deserved a better fate; but I cannot help blaming that continued indiscretion, to give it the softest name, that has run through his life, and I am afraid still remains. . . . Since I was born no original has appeared excepting Congreve, and Fielding, who would, I believe, have approached nearer to his excellences, if not forced by his necessities to publish without correction, and throw many productions into the world he would have thrown into the fire, if meat could have been got without money, or money without scribbling. . . . I am sorry not to see any more of Peregrine Pickle's performances; I wish you would tell me his name." — *Letters and Works* (Lord Wharncliffe's ed.), vol. iii, pp. 93, 94.

should have gone on living forever. One can fancy the eagerness and gusto with which a man of Fielding's frame, with his vast health and robust appetite, his ardent spirits, his joyful humor, and his keen and healthy relish for life, must have seized and drunk that cup of pleasure which the town offered to him. Can any of my hearers remember the youthful feats of a college breakfast — the meats devoured and the cups quaffed in that Homeric feast? I can call to mind some of the heroes of those youthful banquets, and fancy young Fielding from Leyden rushing upon the feast, with his great laugh, and immense healthy young appetite, eager and vigorous to enjoy. The young man's wit and manners made him friends everywhere: he lived with the grand Man's society of those days; he was courted by peers and men of wealth and fashion. As he had a paternal allowance from his father, General Fielding, which, to use Henry's own phrase, any man might pay who would; as he liked good wine, good clothes, and good company, which are all expensive articles to purchase, Harry Fielding began to run into debt, and borrow money in that easy manner in which Captain Booth borrows money in the novel: was in nowise particular in accepting a few pieces from the purses of his rich friends, and bore down upon more than one of them, as Walpole tells us only too truly, for a dinner or a guinea. To supply himself with the latter, he began to write theatrical pieces, having already, no doubt, a considerable acquaintance amongst the Oldfields and Bracegirdles behind the scenes. He laughed at these pieces and scorned them. When the audience upon one occasion began to hiss a scene which he was too lazy to correct, and regarding which, when Garrick remonstrated with him, he said that the public was too stupid to find out the badness of his work: when the audience began to hiss, Fielding said with characteristic coolness — "They have found it out, have they?" He did not prepare his novels in

this way, and with a very different care and interest laid the foundations and built up the edifices of his future fame.

Time and shower have very little damaged those. The fashion and ornaments are, perhaps, of the architecture of that age, but the buildings remain strong and lofty, and of admirable proportions — masterpieces of genius and monuments of workmanlike skill.

I cannot offer or hope to make a hero of Harry Fielding. Why hide his faults? Why conceal his weaknesses in a cloud of periphrases? Why not show him, like him as he is, not robed in a marble toga, and draped and polished in an heroic attitude, but with inked ruffles, and claret stains on his tarnished laced coat, and on his manly face the marks of good fellowship, of illness, of kindness, of care and wine? Stained as you see him, and worn by care and dissipation, that man retains some of the most precious and splendid human qualities and endowments. He has an admirable natural love of truth, the keenest instinctive antipathy to hypocrisy, the happiest satirical gift of laughing it to scorn. His wit is wonderfully wise and detective; it flashes upon a rogue and lightens up a rascal like a policeman's lantern. He is one of the manliest and kindliest of human beings: in the midst of all his imperfections, he respects female innocence and infantine tenderness as you would suppose such a great-hearted, courageous soul would respect and care for them. He could not be so brave, generous, truth-telling as he is, were he not infinitely merciful, pitiful, and tender. He will give any man his purse — he can't help kindness and profusion. He may have low tastes, but not a mean mind; he admires with all his heart good and virtuous men, stoops to no flattery, bears no rancor, disdains all disloyal arts, does his public duty uprightly, is fondly loved by his family, and dies at his work.*

* He sailed for Lisbon, from Gravesend, on Sunday morning, June 30th, 1754; and began *The Journal of a Voyage* during the passage. He died at

If that theory be — and I have no doubt it is — the right and safe one, that human nature is always pleased with the spectacle of innocence rescued by fidelity, purity, and courage, I suppose that of the heroes of Fielding's three novels, we should like honest Joseph Andrews the best, and Captain Booth the second, and Tom Jones the third.*

Joseph Andrews, though he wears Lady Booby's cast-off livery, is, I think, to the full as polite as Tom Jones in his fustian suit, or Captain Booth in regimentals. He has, like those heroes, large calves, broad shoulders, a high courage, and a handsome face. The accounts of Joseph's bravery and good qualities; his voice, too musical to halloo to the dogs; his bravery in riding races for the gentlemen of the county, and his constancy in refusing bribes and temptation, have something affecting in their *naïveté* and freshness, and prepossess one in favor of that handsome young hero. The rustic bloom of Fanny, and the delightful simplicity of Parson Adams, are described with a friendliness which wins the reader of their story; we part from them with more regret than from Booth and Jones.

Fielding, no doubt, began to write this novel in ridicule of "Pamela," for which work one can understand the hearty contempt and antipathy which such an athletic and boisterous genius as Fielding's must have entertained. He couldn't do otherwise than laugh at the puny cockney bookseller, pouring out endless volumes of sentimental twaddle, and hold him up to scorn as a mollcoddle and a milksop. *His* genius

Lisbon, in the beginning of October of the same year. He lies buried there, in the English Protestant churchyard, near the Estrella Church, with this inscription over him:

"HENRICUS FIELDING
LUGET BRITANNIA GREMIO NON DARI
FOVERE NATUM."

* Fielding himself is said by Doctor Warton to have preferred *Joseph Andrews* to his other writings.

had been nursed on sack posset, and not on dishes of tea. *His* muse had sung the loudest in tavern choruses, had seen the daylight streaming in over thousands of emptied bowls, and reeled home to chambers on the shoulders of the watchman. Richardson's goddess was attended by old maids and dowagers, and fed on muffins and bohea. "Milksop!" roars Harry Fielding, clattering at the timid shop shutters. "Wretch! Monster! Mohock!" shrieks the sentimental author of "Pamela";* and all the ladies of his court cackle out an affrighted chorus. Fielding proposes to write a book in ridicule of the author, whom he disliked and utterly scorned and laughed at; but he is himself of so generous, jovial, and kindly a turn that he begins to like the characters which he invents, can't help making them manly and pleasant as well as ridiculous, and before he has done with them all, loves them heartily every one.

Richardson's sickening antipathy for Harry Fielding is quite as natural as the other's laughter and contempt at the sentimentalist. I have not learned that these likings and dislikings have ceased in the present day: and every author must lay his account not only to misrepresentation, but to honest enmity among critics, and to being hated and abused for good as well as for bad reasons. Richardson disliked Fielding's works quite honestly: Walpole quite honestly spoke of them as vulgar and stupid. Their squeamish stomachs sickened at the rough fare and the rough guests assembled at Fielding's jolly revel. Indeed the cloth might have been cleaner:

* "Richardson," says worthy Mrs. Barbauld, in her Memoir of him, prefixed to his Correspondence, "was exceedingly hurt at this (*Joseph Andrews*), the more so as they had been on good terms, and he was very intimate with Fielding's two sisters. He never appears cordially to have forgiven it (perhaps it was not in human nature he should), and he always speaks in his letters with a great deal of asperity of *Tom Jones*, more indeed than was quite graceful in a rival author. No doubt he himself thought his indignation was solely excited by the loose morality of the work and of its author, but he could tolerate Cibber."

and the dinner and the company were scarce such as suited a dandy. The kind and wise old Johnson would not sit down with him.* But a greater scholar than Johnson could afford to admire that astonishing genius of Harry Fielding; and we all know the lofty panegyric which Gibbon wrote of him, and which remains a towering monument to the great novelist's memory. "Our immortal Fielding," Gibbon writes, "was of the younger branch of the Earls of Denbigh, who drew their origin from the Counts of Hapsburgh. The successors of Charles V may disdain their brethren of England, but the romance of 'Tom Jones,' that exquisite picture of humor and manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial and the Imperial Eagle of Austria."

There can be no gainsaying the sentence of this great judge. To have your name mentioned by Gibbon, is like having it written on the dome of St. Peter's. Pilgrims from all the world admire and behold it.

As a picture of manners, the novel of "Tom Jones" is indeed exquisite: as a work of construction, quite a wonder: the by-play of wisdom; the power of observation; the multiplied felicitous turns and thoughts; the varied character of the great Comic Epic: keep the reader in a perpetual admiration and curiosity.† But against Mr. Thomas Jones himself we

* It must always be borne in mind, that besides that the Doctor couldn't be expected to like Fielding's wild life (to say nothing of the fact that they were of opposite sides in politics), Richardson was one of his earliest and kindest friends. Yet Johnson too (as Boswell tells us) read *Amelia* through without stopping.

† "Manners change from generation to generation, and with manners morals appear to change — actually change with some, but appear to change with all but the abandoned. A young man of the present day who should act as Tom Jones is supposed to act at Upton, with Lady Bellaston, &c., would not be a Tom Jones; and a Tom Jones of the present day, without perhaps being in the ground a better man, would have perished rather than submit to be kept by a harridan of fortune. Therefore, this novel is, and indeed pretends to be, no example of conduct. But, notwithstanding all this, I do loathe the cant which can recommend *Pamela* and *Clarissa Harlowe* as strictly moral, although they

have a right to put in a protest, and quarrel with the esteem the author evidently has for that character. Charles Lamb says finely of Jones, that a single hearty laugh from him "clears the air" — but then it is in a certain state of the atmosphere. It might clear the air when such personages as Blifil or Lady Bellaston poison it. But I fear very much that (except until the very last scene of the story), when Mr. Jones enters Sophia's drawing-room, the pure air there is rather tainted with the young gentleman's tobacco pipe and punch. I can't say that I think Mr. Jones a virtuous character; I can't say but that I think Fielding's evident liking and admiration for Mr. Jones shows that the great humorist's moral sense was blunted by his life, and that here, in Art and Ethics, there is a great error. If it is right to have a hero whom we may admire, let us at least take care that he is admirable: if, as is the plan of some authors (a plan decidedly against their interests, be it said), it is propounded that there exists in life no such being, and therefore that in novels, the picture of life, there should appear no such character; then Mr. Thomas Jones becomes an admissible person, and we examine his defects and good qualities, as we do those of Parson Thwackum, or Miss Seagrim. But a hero with a flawed reputation; a hero spunging for a guinea; a hero who can't pay his landlady, and is obliged to let his honor out to hire, is absurd, and his claim to heroic rank untenable. I protest against Mr. Thomas Jones holding such rank at all. I protest even against his being considered a more than ordinary young fellow, ruddy-cheeked, broad-shouldered, and

poison the imagination of the young with continued doses of *tinct. lyttæ*, while *Tom Jones* is prohibited as loose. I do not speak of young women; but a young man whose heart or feelings can be injured, or even his passions excited, by this novel, is already thoroughly corrupt. There is a cheerful, sunshiny, breezy spirit, that prevails everywhere, strongly contrasted with the close, hot, day-dreamy continuity of Richardson." — COLERIDGE *Literary Remains*, vol. ii. p. 374.

fond of wine and pleasure. He would not rob a church, but that is all; and a pretty long argument may be debated, as to which of these old types — the spendthrift, the hypocrite, Jones and Blifil, Charles and Joseph Surface — is the worst member of society and the most deserving of censure. The prodigal Captain Booth is a better man than his predecessor Mr. Jones, in so far as he thinks much more humbly of himself than Jones did: goes down on his knees, and owns his weaknesses, and cries out, "Not for my sake, but for the sake of my pure and sweet and beautiful wife Amelia, I pray you, O critical reader, to forgive me." That stern moralist regards him from the bench (the judge's practice out of court is not here the question), and says, "Captain Booth, it is perfectly true that your life has been disreputable, and that on many occasions you have shown yourself to be no better than a scamp — you have been tippling at the tavern, when the kindest and sweetest lady in the world has cooked your little supper of boiled mutton and awaited you all the night; you have spoilt the little dish of boiled mutton thereby, and caused pangs and pains to Amelia's tender heart.* You have got

* "Nor was she (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) a stranger to that beloved first wife, whose picture he drew in his 'Amelia,' when, as she said, even the glowing language he knew how to employ did not do more than justice to the amiable qualities of the original, or to her beauty, although this had suffered a little from the accident related in the novel — a frightful overturn, which destroyed the gristle of her nose. He loved her passionately, and she returned his affection. . . .

"His biographers seem to have been shy of disclosing that, after the death of this charming woman, he married her maid. And yet the act was not so discreditable to his character as it may sound. The maid had few personal charms, but was an excellent creature, devotedly attached to her mistress, and almost broken-hearted for her loss. In the first agonies of his own grief, which approached to frenzy, he found no relief but from weeping along with her; nor solace when a degree calmer, but in talking to her of the angel they mutually regretted. This made her his habitual confidential associate, and in process of time he began to think he could not give his children a tenderer mother, or secure for himself a more faithful housekeeper and nurse. At least, this was what he told his friends; and it is certain that her conduct as his wife confirmed it,

into debt without the means of paying it. You have gambled the money with which you ought to have paid your rent. You have spent in drink or in worse amusements the sums which your poor wife has raised upon her little home treasures, her own ornaments, and the toys of her children. But, you rascal! you own humbly that you are no better than you should be; you never for one moment pretend that you are anything but a miserable weak-minded rogue. You do in your heart adore that angelic woman your wife, and for her sake, sirrah, you shall have your discharge. Lucky for you, and for others like you, that in spite of your failings and imperfections, pure hearts pity and love you. For your wife's sake you are permitted to go hence without a remand; and I beg you, by the way, to carry to that angelical lady the expression of the cordial respect and admiration of this court." Amelia pleads for her husband, Will Booth: Amelia pleads for her reckless kindly old father, Harry Fielding. To have invented that character is not only a triumph of art, but it is a good action. They say it was in his own home that Fielding knew her and loved her: and from his own wife that he drew the most charming character in English fiction. Fiction! why fiction? why not history? I know Amelia just as well as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. I believe in Colonel Bath almost as much as in Colonel Gardiner or the Duke of Cumberland. I admire the author of "Amelia," and thank the kind master who introduced me to that sweet and delightful

and fully justified his good opinion." — *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Edited by Lord Wharncliffe. *Introductory Anecdotes*, vol. i. pp. 80, 81.

Fielding's first wife was Miss Craddock, a young lady from Salisbury, with a fortune of £1500, whom he married in 1736. About the same time he succeeded, himself, to an estate of £200 per annum, and on the joint amount he lived for some time as a splendid country gentleman in Dorsetshire. Three years brought him to the end of his fortune; when he returned to London, and became a theatrical manager. [Recent researches have not confirmed the report as to the "estate of £200 a year"; nor can he have spent three years in the country.]

companion and friend. "Amelia" perhaps is not a better story than "Tom Jones," but it has the better ethics; the prodigal repents, at least, before forgiveness — whereas that odious broadbacked Mr. Jones carries off his beauty with scarce an interval of remorse for his manifold errors and shortcomings; and is not half punished enough before the great prize of fortune and love falls to his share. I am angry with Jones. Too much of the plumcake and rewards of life fall to that boisterous, swaggering young scapegrace. Sophia actually surrenders without a proper sense of decorum; the fond, foolish palpitating little creature! — "Indeed, Mr. Jones," she says, "it rests with you to appoint the day." I suppose Sophia is drawn from life as well as Amelia; and many a young fellow, no better than Mr. Thomas Jones, has carried by a *coup de main* the heart of many a kind girl who was a great deal too good for him.

What a wonderful art! What an admirable gift of nature was it by which the author of these tales was endowed, and which enabled him to fix our interest, to waken our sympathy, to seize upon our credulity, so that we believe in his people — speculate gravely upon their faults or their excellences, prefer this one or that, deplore Jones's fondness for play and drink, Booth's fondness for play and drink, and the unfortunate position of the wives of both gentlemen — love and admire those ladies with all our hearts, and talk about them as faithfully as if we had breakfasted with them this morning in their actual drawing-rooms, or should meet them this afternoon in the Park! What a genius! what a vigor! what a bright-eyed intelligence and observation! what a wholesome hatred for meanness and knavery! what a vast sympathy! what a cheerfulness! what a manly relish of life! what a love of human kind! what a poet is here! — watching, meditating, brooding, creating! What multitudes of truths has that man left behind him! What generations he has

taught to laugh wisely and fairly! What scholars he has formed and accustomed to the exercise of thoughtful humor and the manly play of wit! What a courage he had! What a dauntless and constant cheerfulness of intellect, that burned bright and steady through all the storms of his life, and never deserted its last wreck! It is wonderful to think of the pains and misery which the man suffered; the pressure of want, illness, remorse which he endured! and that the writer was neither malignant nor melancholy, his view of truth never warped, and his generous human kindness never surrendered.*

* In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786, an anecdote is related of Harry Fielding, "in whom," says the correspondent, "good-nature and philanthropy in their extreme degree were known to be the prominent features." It seems that "some parochial taxes" for his house in Beaufort Buildings had long been demanded by the collector. "At last, Harry went off to Johnson, and obtained by a process of literary mortgage the needful sum. He was returning with it, when he met an old college chum whom he had not seen for many years. He asked the chum to dinner with him at a neighboring tavern; and learning that he was in difficulties, emptied the contents of his pocket into his. On returning home he was informed that the collector had been twice for the money. 'Friendship has called for the money and had it,' said Fielding; 'let the collector call again.'"

It is elsewhere told of him, that being in company with the Earl of Denbigh, his kinsman, and the conversation turning upon their relationship, the Earl asked him how it was that he spelled his name "Fielding," and not "Feilding," like the head of the house? "I cannot tell, my Lord," said he, "except it be that my branch of the family were the first that knew how to spell."

In 1748, he was made Justice of the Peace for Westminster and Middlesex, an office then paid by fees and very laborious, without being particularly reputable. It may be seen from his own words, in the Introduction to the "Voyage," what kind of work devolved upon him, and in what a state he was during these last years; and still more clearly, how he comported himself through all.

"Whilst I was preparing for my journey, and when I was almost fatigued to death with several long examinations, relating to five different murders, all committed within the space of a week, by different gangs of street-robbers, I received a message from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, by Mr. Carrington, the King's messenger, to attend his Grace the next morning in Lincoln's Inn Fields, upon some business of importance: but I excused myself from complying with the message, as, besides being lame, I was very ill with the great fatigues I had lately undergone, added to my distemper.

"His Grace, however, sent Mr. Carrington the very next morning with another summons, with which, though in the utmost distress, I immediately

In the quarrel mentioned before, which happened on Fielding's last voyage to Lisbon, and when the stout captain of the ship fell down on his knees, and asked the sick man's pardon—"I did not suffer," Fielding says, in his hearty, manly way, his eyes lighting up as it were with their old fire—"I did not suffer a brave man and an old man to remain a moment in that posture, but immediately forgave him."

complied; but the Duke happening, unfortunately for me, to be then particularly engaged, after I had waited some time, sent a gentleman to discourse with me on the best plan which could be invented for these murders and robberies, which were every day committed in the streets; upon which I promised to transmit my opinion in writing to his Grace, who, as the gentleman informed me, intended to lay it before the Privy Council.

"Though this visit cost me a severe cold, I, notwithstanding, set myself down to work, and in about four days sent the Duke as regular a plan as I could form, with all the reasons and arguments I could bring to support it, drawn out on several sheets of paper; and soon received a message from the Duke, by Mr. Carrington, acquainting me that my plan was highly approved of, and that all the terms of it would be complied with.

"The principal and most material of these terms was the immediately depositing £600 in my hands; at which small charge I undertook to demolish the then reigning gangs, and to put the civil policy into such order, that no such gangs should ever be able for the future to form themselves into bodies, or at least to remain any time formidable to the public.

"I had delayed my Bath journey for some time, contrary to the repeated advice of my physical acquaintances and the ardent desire of my warmest friends, though my distemper was now turned to a deep jaundice; in which case the Bath waters are generally reputed to be almost infallible. But I had the most eager desire to demolish this gang of villains and cutthroats. . . .

"After some weeks the money was paid at the Treasury, and within a few days after £200 of it had come into my hands, the whole gang of cutthroats was entirely dispersed. . . ."

Further on, he says—

"I will confess that my private affairs at the beginning of the winter had but a gloomy aspect; for I had not plundered the public or the poor of those sums which men, who are always ready to plunder both as much as they can, have been pleased to suspect me of taking; on the contrary, by composing, instead of inflaming, the quarrels of porters and beggars (which I blush when I say hath not been universally practiced), and by refusing to take a shilling from a man who most undoubtedly would not have had another left, I had reduced an income of about £500 a year of the dirtiest money upon earth to little more than £300, a considerable portion of which remained with my clerk."

Indeed, I think, with his noble spirit and unconquerable generosity, Fielding reminds one of those brave men of whom one reads in stories of English shipwrecks and disasters — of the officer on the African shore, when disease had destroyed the crew, and he himself is seized by fever, who throws the lead with a death-stricken hand, takes the soundings, carries the ship out of the river or off the dangerous coast, and dies in the manly endeavor — of the wounded captain, when the vessel founders, who never loses his heart, who eyes the danger steadily, and has a cheery word for all, until the inevitable fate overwhelms him, and the gallant ship goes down. Such a brave and gentle heart, such an intrepid and courageous spirit, I love to recognize in the manly, the English Harry Fielding.

STERNE AND GOLDSMITH

Roger Sterne, Sterne's father, was the second son of a numerous race, descendants of Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, in the reign of Charles II;* and children of Simon Sterne and Mary Jaques, his wife, heiress of Elvington, near York.† Roger was an ensign in Colonel Hans Hamilton's regiment, and engaged in Flanders in Queen Anne's wars.‡ He married the daughter of a noted sutler. "*N.B.*, he was in debt to him," his son writes, pursuing the paternal biography — and marched through the world with this companion; she following the regiment and bringing many children to poor Roger Sterne. The Captain was an irascible but kind and simple little man, Sterne says, and he informs us that his sire was run through the body at Gibraltar, by a brother officer, in a duel which arose out of a dispute about a goose. Roger never entirely recovered from the effects of this rencontre, but died presently at Jamaica,§ whither he had followed the drum.

Laurence, his second child, was born at Clonmel, in Ireland, in 1713, and traveled, for the first ten years of his life, on his father's march, from barrack to transport, from Ireland to England. ||

* [1664 to 1683.]

† He came of a Suffolk family — one of whom settled in Nottinghamshire. The famous "starling" was actually the family crest.

‡ [He was appointed ensign about 1710. The regiment became Colonel Chudleigh's in 1711, and afterwards the 34th Foot. He did not become lieutenant till late in life.]

§ [March 1731.]

|| "It was in this parish (of Animo, in Wicklow), during our stay, that I had that wonderful escape in falling through a mill-race, whilst the mill was

One relative of his mother's took her and her family under shelter for ten months at Mullingar; another collateral descendant of the Archbishop's housed them for a year at his castle near Carrickfergus. Larry Sterne was put to school at Halifax in England, finally was adopted by his kinsman of Elvington, and parted company with his father, the Captain, who marched on his path of life till he met the fatal goose which closed his career. The most picturesque and delightful parts of Laurence Sterne's writings we owe to his recollections of the military life. Trim's montero cap, and Le Fevre's sword, and dear Uncle Toby's roquelaure are doubtless reminiscences of the boy, who had lived with the followers of William and Marlborough, and had beat time with his little feet to the fifes of Ramillies in Dublin barrack yard, or played with the torn flags and halberds of Malplaquet on the parade ground at Clonmel.

Laurence remained at Halifax school till he was eighteen years old. His wit and cleverness appear to have acquired the respect of his master here; for when the usher whipped Laurence for writing his name on the newly whitewashed schoolroom ceiling, the pedagogue in chief rebuked the understrapper, and said that the name should never be effaced, for Sterne was a boy of genius, and would come to preferment.

His cousin, the Squire of Elvington, sent Sterne to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he remained some years,* and, taking orders, got, through his uncle's interest, the living of Sutton and a prebendal stall at York.† Through his wife's

going, and of being taken up unhurt: the story is incredible, but known for truth in all that part of Ireland, where hundreds of the common people flocked to see me." — *Sterne.*

* [He was admitted sizar on 6th July 1733, became an exhibitioner in 1734, graduated B.A. in 1736, and M.A. 1740.]

† [Sterne was presented to Sutton, where he generally lived till 1760, in 1738. He became prebendary of York in January 1740–41. In 1760 he moved to Coxwold, on being presented to the perpetual curacy. He held a stall at York, and the three livings, Sutton, Stillington, and Coxwold, till his death.]

connections he got the living of Stillington. He married her in 1741, having ardently courted the young lady for some years previously. It was not until the young lady fancied herself dying, that she made Sterne acquainted with the extent of her liking for him. One evening when he was sitting with her, with an almost broken heart to see her so ill (the reverend Mr. Sterne's heart was a good deal broken in the course of his life), she said — "My dear Laurey, I never can be yours, for I verily believe I have not long to live; but I have left you every shilling of my fortune;" a generosity which overpowered Sterne. She recovered: and so they were married, and grew heartily tired of each other before many years were over. "Nescio quid est materia cum me," Sterne writes to one of his friends (in dog Latin, and very sad dog Latin too); "sed sum fatigatus et ægrotus de meâ uxore plus quam unquam:" which means, I am sorry to say, "I don't know what is the matter with me; but I am more tired and sick of my wife than ever." *

This to be sure was five-and-twenty years † after Laurey had been overcome by her generosity, and she by Laurey's love. Then he wrote to her of the delights of marriage, saying "We will be as merry and as innocent as our first parents in Paradise, before the archfiend entered that indescribable scene. The kindest affections will have room to expand in our retirement: let the human tempest and hurricane rage at a distance, the desolation is beyond the horizon of peace. My L.

* "My wife returns to Toulouse, and proposes to pass the summer at Bagnères. I, on the contrary, go and visit my wife, the church, in Yorkshire. We all live the longer, at least the happier, for having things our own way; this is my conjugal maxim. I own 'tis not the best of maxims, but I maintain 'tis not the worst." — STERNE'S *Letters:* 20th January 1764. [His wife was Elizabeth, only daughter of Richard Lumley, formerly rector of Bedale. Both parents died in her infancy.]

† [This is probably a mistake. The Latin letter addressed to John Hall Stevenson is now known to have been written in 1758. Mrs. Sterne had a fit of insanity next year, and was for a time at a private asylum in York.]

has seen a polyanthus blow in December? — Some friendly wall has sheltered it from the biting wind. No planetary influence shall reach us but that which presides and cherishes the sweetest flowers. The gloomy family of care and distrust shall be banished from our dwelling, guarded by thy kind and tutelar deity. We will sing our choral songs of gratitude and rejoice to the end of our pilgrimage. Adieu, my L. Return to one who languishes for thy society! — As I take up my pen, my poor pulse quickens, my pale face glows, and tears are trickling down on my paper as I trace the word L."

And it is about this woman, with whom he finds no fault but that she bores him, that our philanthropist writes, "Sum fatigatus et ægrotus" — *Sum mortaliter in amore* with somebody else! That fine flower of love, that polyanthus over which Sterne sniveled so many tears, could not last for a quarter of a century!

Or rather it could not be expected that a gentleman with such a fountain at command should keep it to *arroser* one homely old lady, when a score of younger and prettier people might be refreshed from the same gushing source.* It was

* In a collection of "Seven Letters by Sterne and his Friends" (printed for private circulation in 1844), is a letter of M. Tollot, who was in France with Sterne and his family in 1764. Here is a paragraph: —

"Nous arrivâmes le lendemain à Montpellier, où nous trouvâmes notre ami Mr. Sterne, sa femme, sa fille, Mr. Huet, et quelques autres Anglaises. J'eus, je vous l'avoue, beaucoup de plaisir en revoyant le bon et agréable Tristram. . . . Il avait été assez longtemps à Toulouse, où il se serait amusé sans sa femme, qui le poursuivit partout, et qui voulait être de tout. Ces dispositions dans cette bonne dame lui ont fait passer d'assez mauvais momens; il supporte tous ces désagrémens avec une patience d'ange."

About four months after this very characteristic letter, Sterne wrote to the same gentleman to whom Tollot had written; and from his letter we may extract a companion paragraph: —

". . . . . All which being premised, I have been for eight weeks smitten with the tenderest passion that ever tender wight underwent. I wish, dear cousin, thou couldst conceive (perhaps thou canst without my wishing it) how deliciously I cantered away with it the first month, two up, two down, always

in December 1767, that the Reverend Laurence Sterne, the famous Shandean, the charming Yorick, the delight of the fashionable world, the delicious divine for whose sermons the whole polite world was subscribing,* the occupier of Rabelais's easy-chair, only fresh stuffed and more elegant than when in possession of the cynical old curate of Meudon,† — the

upon my *hanches*, along the streets from my hotel to hers, at first once — then twice, then three times a day, till at length I was within an ace of setting up my hobby-horse in her stable for good and all. I might as well, considering how the enemies of the Lord have blasphemed thereupon. The last three weeks we were every hour upon the doleful ditty of parting; and thou may'st conceive, dear cousin, how it altered my gait and air: for I went and came like any louden'd carl, and did nothing but *jouer des sentimens* with her from sun rising even to the setting of the same; and now she is gone to the south of France: and to finish the *comédie*, I fell ill, and broke a vessel in my lungs, and half bled to death. Voilà mon histoire!"

Whether husband or wife had most of the "patience d'ange" may be uncertain; but there can be no doubt which needed it most!

*"'Tristram Shandy' is still a greater object of admiration, the man as well as the book: one is invited to dinner, where he dines, a fortnight before. As to the volumes yet published, there is much good fun in them and humor sometimes hit and sometimes missed. Have you read his 'Sermons,' with his own comick figure, from a painting by Reynolds, at the head of them? They are in the style I think most proper for the pulpit, and show a strong imagination and a sensible heart; but you see him often tottering on the verge of laughter, and ready to throw his periwig in the face of the audience." — GRAY'S *Letters:* June 22d, 1760.

"It having been observed that there was little hospitality in London — Johnson: 'Nay, sir, any man who has a name, or who has the power of pleasing, will be very generally invited in London. The man, Sterne, I have been told, has had engagements for three months.' Goldsmith: 'And a very dull fellow.' Johnson: 'Why, no, sir.'" — BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson.*

"Her [Miss Monckton's] vivacity enchanted the sage, and they used to talk together with all imaginable ease. A singular instance happened one evening, when she insisted that some of Sterne's writings were very pathetic. Johnson bluntly denied it. 'I am sure,' said she, 'they have affected me.' 'Why,' said Johnson, smiling, and rolling himself about — 'that is because, dearest, you're a dunce.' When she some time afterwards mentioned this to him, he said with equal truth and politeness, 'Madam, if I had thought so, I certainly should not have said it.'" — *Ibid.*

† A passage or two from Sterne's Sermons may not be without interest here. Is not the following, leveled against the cruelties of the Church of Rome, stamped with the autograph of the author of the *Sentimental Journey?* —

more than rival of the Dean of Saint Patrick's, wrote the above-quoted respectable letter to his friend in London: and it was in April of the same year that he was pouring out his fond heart to Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, wife of "Daniel Draper,

"To be convinced of this, go with me for a moment into the prisons of the Inquisition — behold *religion* with mercy and justice chained down under her feet – there, sitting ghastly upon a black tribunal, propped up with racks, and instruments of torment. — Hark! — what a piteous groan! — See the melancholy wretch who uttered it, just brought forth to undergo the anguish of a mock-trial, and endure the utmost pain that a studied system of *religious cruelty* has been able to invent. Behold this helpless victim delivered up to his tormentors. *His body so wasted with sorrow and long confinement, you'll see every nerve and muscle as it suffers.* — Observe the last movement of that horrid engine — What convulsions it has thrown him into! Consider the nature of the posture in which he now lies stretched. — What exquisite torture he endures by it! — 'Tis all nature can bear. — GOOD GOD! see how it keeps his weary soul hanging upon his trembling lips, willing to take its leave, but not suffered to depart. Behold the unhappy wretch led back to his cell — dragg'd out of it again to meet the flames — and the insults in his last agonies, which this principle — this principle, that there can be religion without morality — has prepared for him." — *Sermon 27th.*

The next extract is preached on a text to be found in Judges xix. vv. 1, 2, 3, concerning a "certain Levite": —

"Such a one the Levite wanted to share his solitude and fill up that uncomfortable blank in the heart in such a situation: for, notwithstanding all we meet with in books, in many of which, no doubt, there are a good many handsome things said upon the sweets of retirement, &c. . . . yet still 'it *is not good for man to be alone;*' nor can all which the cold-hearted pedant stuns our ears with upon the subject, ever give one answer of satisfaction to the mind; in the midst of the loudest vauntings of philosophy, nature will have her yearnings for society and friendship; a good heart wants some object to be kind to — and the best parts of our blood, and the purest of our spirits, suffer most under the destitution.

"Let the torpid monk seek Heaven comfortless and alone. God speed him! For my own part, I fear I should never so find the way: *let me be wise and religious, but let me be* MAN; wherever thy Providence places me, or whatever be the road I take to Thee, give me some companion in my journey, be it only to remark to, 'How our shadows lengthen as our sun goes down!' — to whom I may say, 'How fresh is the face of Nature! how sweet the flowers of the field! how delicious are these fruits!'" — *Sermon 18th.*

The first of these passages gives us another drawing of the famous "Captive." The second shows that the same reflection was suggested to the Reverend Laurence by a text in Judges as by the *fille-de-chambre.*

Sterne's Sermons were published as those of "Mr. Yorick."

Esquire, Councilor of Bombay, and, in 1775, chief of the factory of Surat — a gentleman very much respected in that quarter of the globe."*

"I got thy letter last night, Eliza," Sterne writes, "on my return from Lord Bathurst's, where I dined" — (the letter has this merit in it, that it contains a pleasant reminiscence of better men than Sterne, and introduces us to a portrait of a kind old gentleman) — "I got thy letter last night, Eliza, on my return from Lord Bathurst's; and where I was heard — as I talked of thee an hour without intermission — with so much pleasure and attention, that the good old Lord toasted your health three different times; and now he is in his 85th year, says he hopes to live long enough to be introduced as a friend to my fair Indian disciple, and to see her eclipse all other Nabobesses as much in wealth as she does already in exterior and, what is far better" (for Sterne is nothing without his morality), "in interior merit. This nobleman is an old friend of mine. You know he was always the protector of men of wit and genius, and has had those of the last century, Addison, Steele, Pope, Swift, Prior, &c., always at his table. The manner in which his notice began of me was as singular as it was polite. He came up to me one day as I was at the Princess of Wales's Court, and said, 'I want to know you, Mr. Sterne, but it is fit you also should know who it is that wishes this pleasure. You have heard of an old Lord Bathurst, of whom your Popes and Swifts have sung and spoken so much? I have lived my life with geniuses of that cast; but have survived them; and, despairing ever to find their equals, it is some years since I have shut up my books and closed my accounts; but you have kindled a desire in me of opening them once more before I die: which I now do:

* [Mrs. Draper, daughter of May Sclater, of a good west-country family, was married at Bombay in 1758, when little more than fourteen. She first met Sterne when on a visit to England in December 1766.]

so go home and dine with me.' This nobleman, I say, is a prodigy, for he has all the wit and promptness of a man of thirty; a disposition to be pleased, and a power to please others, beyond whatever I knew: added to which a man of learning, courtesy, and feeling.

"He heard me talk of thee, Eliza, with uncommon satisfaction — for there was only a third person, *and of sensibility*, with us: and a most sentimental afternoon till nine o'clock have we passed! * But thou, Eliza, wert the star that conducted and enlivened the discourse! And when I talked not of thee, still didst thou fill my mind, and warm every thought I uttered, for I am not ashamed to acknowledge I greatly miss thee. Best of all good girls! — the sufferings I have sustained all night in consequence of thine, Eliza, are beyond the power of words. . . . And so thou hast fixed thy Bramin's portrait over thy writing-desk, and wilt consult it in all doubts and difficulties? — Grateful and good girl! Yorick smiles contentedly over all thou dost: his picture does not do justice to his own complacency. I am glad your shipmates are friendly beings" (Eliza was at Deal, going back to the Councilor at Bombay, and indeed it was high time she should be off). "You could least dispense with what is contrary to

* "I am glad that you are in love: 'twill cure you at least of the spleen, which has a bad effect on both man and woman. I myself must ever have some Dulcinea in my head; it harmonizes the soul; and in these cases I first endeavor to make the lady believe so, or rather, I begin first to make myself believe that I am in love; but I carry on my affairs quite in the French way, sentimentally: 'L'amour,' say they, 'n'est rien sans sentiment.' Now, notwithstanding they make such a pother about the *word*, they have no precise idea annexed to it. And so much for that same subject called love." — STERNE'S *Letters;* May 23, 1765.

"*P.S.* — My *Sentimental Journey* will please Mrs. J(ames) and my Lydia" [his daughter, afterwards Mrs. Medalle] "I can answer for those two. It is a subject which works well, and suits the frame of mind I have been in for some time past. I told you my design in it was to teach us to love the world and our fellow-creatures better than we do — so it runs most upon those gentler passions and affections which aid so much to it." — *Letters* [1767].

your own nature, which is soft and gentle, Eliza; it would civilize savages — though pity were it thou shouldst be tainted with the office. Write to me, my child, thy delicious letters. Let them speak the easy carelessness of a heart that opens itself anyhow, everyhow. Such, Eliza, I write to thee!" (The artless rogue, of course he did!) "And so I should ever love thee, most artlessly, most affectionately, if Providence permitted thy residence in the same section of the globe: for I am all that honor and affection can make me 'THY BRAMIN.'"

The Bramin continues addressing Mrs. Draper until the departure of the *Earl of Chatham* Indiaman from Deal, on the 3d of April 1767. He is amiably anxious about the fresh paint for Eliza's cabin; he is uncommonly solicitous about her companions on board:

"I fear the best of your shipmates are only genteel by comparison with the contrasted crew with which thou beholdest them. So was — you know who — from the same fallacy which was put upon your judgment when — but I will not mortify you!"

"You know who" was, of course, Daniel Draper, Esquire, of Bombay — a gentleman very much respected in that quarter of the globe, and about whose probable health our worthy Bramin writes with delightful candor:

"I honor you, Eliza, for keeping secret some things which, if explained, had been a panegyric on yourself. There is a dignity in venerable affliction which will not allow it to appeal to the world for pity or redress. Well have you supported that character, my amiable, my philosophic friend! And, indeed, I begin to think you have as many virtues as my Uncle Toby's widow. Talking of widows — pray, Eliza,

if ever you are such, do not think of giving yourself to some wealthy Nabob, because I design to marry you myself. My wife cannot live long, and I know not the woman I should like so well for her substitute as yourself. 'Tis true I am ninety-five in constitution, and you but twenty-five; but what I want in youth, I will make up in wit and good humor. Not Swift so loved his Stella, Scarron his Maintenon, or Waller his Saccharissa. Tell me, in answer to this, that you approve and honor the proposal."

Approve and honor the proposal! The coward was writing gay letters to his friends this while, with sneering allusions to this poor foolish *Bramine*. Her ship was not out of the Downs and the charming Sterne was at the "Mount Coffee-house," with a sheet of gilt-edged paper before him, offering that precious treasure his heart to Lady P——,* asking whether it gave her pleasure to see him unhappy? whether it added to her triumph that her eyes and lips had turned a man into a fool? — quoting the Lord's Prayer, with a horrible baseness of blasphemy, as a proof that he had desired not to be led into temptation, and swearing himself the most tender and sincere fool in the world. It was from his home at Coxwold that he wrote the Latin Letter, which, I suppose, he was ashamed to put into English. I find in my copy of the Letters that there is a note of, I can't call it admiration, at Letter 112, which seems to announce that there was a No. 3 to whom the wretched worn-out old scamp was paying his addresses; † and the year after, having come back to his

* [*i.e.* Lady Percy, daughter of Lord Bute.]

† *To Mrs. H——*

"Coxwould: *Nov.* 15, 1767

"Now be a good dear woman, my H——, and execute those commissions well, and when I see you I will give you a kiss — there's for you! But I have something else for you which I am fabricating at a great rate, and that is my

lodgings in Bond Street, with his "Sentimental Journey" to launch upon the town, eager as ever for praise and pleasure — as vain, as wicked, as witty, as false as he had ever been — death at length seized the feeble wretch, and on the 18th of March 1768, that "bale of cadaverous goods," as he calls his body, was consigned to Pluto.* In his last letter there is one sign of grace — the real affection with which he entreats

'Sentimental Journey,' which shall make you cry as much as it has affected me, or I will give up the business of sentimental writing. . . .

"I am yours, &c. &c.,

"T. SHANDY"

To the Earl of ——

"COXWOULD: *Nov.* 28, 1767

"MY LORD, — 'Tis with the greatest pleasure I take my pen to thank your lordship for your letter of inquiry about Yorick: he was worn out, both his spirits and body, with the 'Sentimental Journey.' 'Tis true, then, an author must feel himself, or his reader will not; but I have torn my whole frame into pieces by my feelings: I believe the brain stands as much in need of recruiting as the body. Therefore I shall set out for town the twentieth of next month, after having recruited myself a week at York. I might indeed solace myself with my wife (who is come from France); but, in fact, I have long been a sentimental being, whatever your lordship may think to the contrary."

[From April to August 1767, Sterne wrote a "Journal to Eliza," which he called the "Bramine's Journal," and described as a "diary of the miserable feelings of a person separated from a lady for whose society he languished." It has never been printed. It was bequeathed to the British Museum by Mr. Thomas Washbourne Gibbs, of Bath, who, in 1851, showed it to Thackeray with a view to this lecture. Thackeray returned it without using it, and told the owner that it made him think worse of Sterne than any of the published writings.]

*"In February 1768, Laurence Sterne, his frame exhausted by long debilitating illness, expired at his lodgings in Bond Street, London. There was something in the manner of his death singularly resembling the particulars detailed by *Mrs. Quickly* as attending that of *Falstaff*, the compeer of *Yorick*, for infinite jest, however unlike in other particulars. As he lay on his bed totally exhausted, he complained that his feet were cold, and requested the female attendant to chafe them. She did so, and it seemed to relieve him. He complained that the cold came up higher; and whilst the assistant was in the act of chafing his ankles and legs, he expired without a groan. It was also remarkable that his death took place much in the manner which he himself had wished; and that the last offices were rendered him, not in his own house, or by the hand of kindred affection, but in an inn, and by strangers.

"We are well acquainted with Sterne's features and personal appearance,

a friend to be a guardian to his daughter Lydia. All his letters to her are artless, kind, affectionate, and *not* sentimental; as a hundred pages in his writings are beautiful, and full, not of surprising humor merely, but of genuine love and kindness. A perilous trade, indeed, is that of a man who has to bring his tears and laughter, his recollections, his personal griefs and joys, his private thoughts and feelings to market, to write them on paper, and sell them for money. Does he exaggerate his grief, so as to get his reader's pity for a false sensibility? feign indignation, so as to establish a character for virtue? elaborate repartees, so that he may pass for a wit? steal from other authors, and put down the theft to the credit side of his own reputation for ingenuity and learning? feign originality? affect benevolence or misanthropy? appeal to the gallery gods with claptraps and vulgar baits to catch applause?

How much of the paint and emphasis is necessary for the fair business of the stage, and how much of the rant and rouge is put on for the vanity of the actor? His audience trusts him: can he trust himself? How much was deliberate calculation and imposture — how much was false sensibility — and how much true feeling? Where did the lie begin, and did he know where? and where did the truth end in the art and scheme of this man of genius, this actor, this quack?

to which he himself frequently alludes. He was tall and thin, with a hectic and consumptive appearance." — *Sir Walter Scott.*

"It is known that Sterne died in hired lodgings, and I have been told that his attendants robbed him even of his gold sleeve-buttons while he was expiring." — *Dr. Ferriar.*

"He died at No. 41 (now a cheesemonger's), on the west side of Old Bond Street." — *Handbook of London.* [At Sterne's death it is said to have been a "silk-bag shop"; it is now Agnew's Picture Gallery. At his death, John Crawford of Erroll, who was entertaining some of Sterne's friends, sent a footman to James Macdonald to inquire after his health. Macdonald, who published memoirs, was sent to Sterne's bedside, and heard the dying man say, "Now it has come." A few minutes later he was dead. He was buried in St. George's burial ground in the Bayswater Road, which has recently been put in order.]

Some time since, I was in the company of a French actor who began after dinner, and at his own request, to sing French songs of the sort called *des chansons grivoises*, and which he performed admirably, and to the dissatisfaction of most persons present. Having finished these, he commenced a sentimental ballad — it was so charmingly sung that it touched all persons present, and especially the singer himself, whose voice trembled, whose eyes filled with emotion, and who was snivelling and weeping quite genuine tears by the time his own ditty was over. I suppose Sterne had this artistical sensibility; he used to blubber perpetually in his study, and finding his tears infectious, and that they brought him a great popularity, he exercised the lucrative gift of weeping: he utilized it, and cried on every occasion. I own that I don't value or respect much the cheap dribble of those fountains. He fatigues me with his perpetual disquiet and his uneasy appeals to my risible or sentimental faculties. He is always looking in my face, watching his effect, uncertain whether I think him an impostor or not; posture-making, coaxing, and imploring me. "See what sensibility I have — own now that I'm very clever — do cry now, you can't resist this." The humor of Swift and Rabelais, whom he pretended to succeed, poured from them as naturally as song does from a bird; they lose no manly dignity with it, but laugh their hearty great laugh out of their broad chests as nature bade them. But this man — who can make you laugh, who can make you cry too — never lets his reader alone, or will permit his audience repose: when you are quiet, he fancies he must rouse you, and turns over head and heels, or sidles up and whispers a nasty story. The man is a great jester, not a great humorist. He goes to work systematically and of cold blood; paints his face, puts on his ruff and motley clothes, and lays down his carpet and tumbles on it.

For instance, take the "Sentimental Journey," and see in the writer the deliberate propensity to make points and seek applause. He gets to "Dessein's Hotel," he wants a carriage to travel to Paris, he goes to the innyard, and begins what the actors call "business" at once. There is that little carriage (the *désobligeante*).

"Four months had elapsed since it had finished its career of Europe in the corner of Monsieur Dessein's coach yard, and having sallied out thence but a vamped-up business at first, though it had been twice taken to pieces on Mont Cenis, it had not profited much by its adventures, but by none so little as the standing so many months unpitied in the corner of Monsieur Dessein's coach yard. Much, indeed, was not to be said for it — but something might — and when a few words will rescue misery out of her distress, I hate the man who can be a churl of them."

Le tour est fait! Paillasse has tumbled! Paillasse has jumped over the *désobligeante*, cleared it, hood and all, and bows to the noble company. Does anybody believe that this is a real Sentiment? that this luxury of generosity, this gallant rescue of Misery — out of an old cab, is genuine feeling? It is as genuine as the virtuous oratory of Joseph Surface when he begins, "The man who," &c. &c., and wishes to pass off for a saint with his credulous, good-humored dupes.

Our friend purchases the carriage: after turning that notorious old monk to good account, and effecting (like a soft and good-natured Paillasse as he was, and very free with his money when he had it) an exchange of snuffboxes with the old Franciscan, jogs out of Calais; sets down in immense figures on the credit side of his account the sous he gives away to the Montreuil beggars; and, at Nampont, gets out of the chaise and whimpers over that famous dead donkey, for which any sentimentalist may cry who will.

It is agreeably and skillfully done — that dead jackass: like Monsieur de Soubise's cook on the campaign, Sterne dresses it, and serves it up quite tender and with a very piquant sauce. But tears and fine feelings, and a white pocket-handkerchief, and a funeral sermon, and horses and feathers, and a procession of mutes, and a hearse with a dead donkey inside! Psha, mountebank! I'll not give thee one penny more for that trick, donkey and all!

This donkey had appeared once before with signal effect. In 1765, three years before the publication of the "Sentimental Journey," the seventh and eighth volumes of "Tristram Shandy" were given to the world, and the famous Lyons donkey makes his entry in those volumes (pp. 315, 316): —

"'Twas by a poor ass, with a couple of large panniers at his back, who had just turned in to collect eleemosynary turnip tops and cabbage leaves, and stood dubious, with his two forefeet at the inside of the threshold, and with his two hinder feet towards the street, as not knowing very well whether he was to go in or no.

"Now 'tis an animal (be in what hurry I may) I cannot bear to strike: there is a patient endurance of suffering wrote so unaffectedly in his looks and carriage which pleads so mightily for him, that it always disarms me, and to that degree that I do not like to speak unkindly to him: on the contrary, meet him where I will, whether in town or country, in cart or under panniers, whether in liberty or bondage, I have ever something civil to say to him on my part; and, as one word begets another (if he has as little to do as I), I generally fall into conversation with him; and surely never is my imagination so busy as in framing responses from the etchings of his countenance; and where those carry me not deep enough, in flying from my own heart into his, and seeing what is natural for an ass to think — as well as a man, upon

the occasion. In truth, it is the only creature of all the classes of beings below me with whom I can do this. . . . With an ass I can commune forever.

"'Come, Honesty,' said I, seeing it was impracticable to pass betwixt him and the gate, 'art thou for coming in or going out?'

"The ass twisted his head round to look up the street.

"'Well!' replied I, 'we'll wait a minute for thy driver.'

"He turned his head thoughtfully about, and looked wistfully the opposite way.

"'I understand thee perfectly,' answered I: 'if thou takest a wrong step in this affair, he will cudgel thee to death. Well! a minute is but a minute; and if it save a fellow-creature a drubbing, it shall not be set down as ill spent.'

"He was eating the stem of an artichoke as this discourse went on, and, in the little peevish contentions between hunger and unsavoriness, had dropped it out of his mouth half a dozen times, and had picked it up again. 'God help thee, Jack!' said I, 'thou hast a bitter breakfast on't — and many a bitter day's labor, and many a bitter blow, I fear, for its wages! 'Tis all, all bitterness to thee — whatever life is to others! And now thy mouth, if one knew the truth of it, is as bitter, I dare say, as soot' (for he had cast aside the stem), 'and thou hast not a friend perhaps in all this world that will give thee a macaroon.' In saying this, I pulled out a paper of 'em, which I had just bought, and gave him one; and at this moment that I am telling it, my heart smites me that there was more of pleasantry in the conceit of seeing *how* an ass would eat a macaroon than of benevolence in giving him one, which presided in the act.

"When the ass had eaten his macaroon, I pressed him to come in. The poor beast was heavy loaded — his legs seemed to tremble under him — he hung rather backwards, and, as I pulled at his halter, it broke in my hand. He looked

up pensive in my face: 'Don't thrash me with it; but if you will you may.' 'If I do,' said I, 'I'll be d——.'"

A critic who refuses to see in this charming description wit, humor, pathos, a kind nature speaking, and a real sentiment, must be hard indeed to move and to please. A page or two farther we come to a description not less beautiful — a landscape and figures, deliciously painted by one who had the keenest enjoyment and the most tremulous sensibility: —

"'Twas in the road between Nismes and Lunel, where is the best Muscatto wine in all France: the sun was set, they had done their work: the nymphs had tied up their hair afresh, and the swains were preparing for a carousal. My mule made a dead point. ''Tis the pipe and tambourine,' said I — 'I never will argue a point with one of your family as long as I live;' so leaping off his back, and kicking off one boot into this ditch and t'other into that, 'I'll take a dance,' said I, 'so stay you here.'

"A sunburnt daughter of labor rose up from the group to meet me as I advanced towards them; her hair, which was of a dark chestnut approaching to a black, was tied up in a knot, all but a single tress.

"'We want a cavalier,' said she, holding out both her hands, as if to offer them. 'And a cavalier you shall have,' said I, taking hold of both of them. 'We could not have done without you,' said she, letting go one hand, with self-taught politeness, and leading me up with the other.

"A lame youth, whom Apollo had recompensed with a pipe, and to which he had added a tambourine of his own accord, ran sweetly over the prelude, as he sat upon the bank. 'Tie me up this tress instantly,' said Nannette, putting a piece of string into my hand. It taught me to forget I was a stranger. The whole knot fell down — we had been seven years acquainted. The youth struck the note upon the tambourine, his pipe followed, and off we bounded.

"The sister of the youth — who had stolen her voice from heaven — sang alternately with her brother. 'Twas a Gascoigne roundelay: '*Viva la joia, fidon la tristessa.*' The nymphs joined in unison, and their swains an octave below them.

"*Viva la joia* was in Nannette's lips, *viva la joia* in her eyes. A transient spark of amity shot across the space betwixt us. She looked amiable. Why could I not live and end my days thus? 'Just Disposer of our joys and sorrows!' cried I, 'why could not a man sit down in the lap of content here, and dance, and sing, and say his prayers, and go to heaven with this nut-brown maid?' Capriciously did she bend her head on one side, and dance up insidious. 'Then 'tis time to dance off,' quoth I."

And with this pretty dance and chorus, the volume artfully concludes. Even here one can't give the whole description. There is not a page in Sterne's writing but has something that were better away, a latent corruption — a hint, as of an impure presence.*

* "With regard to Sterne, and the charge of licentiousness which presses so seriously upon his character as a writer, I would remark that there is a sort of knowingness, the wit of which depends, 1st, on the modesty it gives pain to; or, 2ndly, on the innocence and innocent ignorance over which it triumphs; or, 3rdly, on a certain oscillation in the individual's own mind between the remaining good and the encroaching evil of his nature — a sort of dallying with the devil — a fluxionary art of combining courage and cowardice, as when a man snuffs a candle with his fingers for the first time, or better still, perhaps, like that trembling daring with which a child touches a hot tea-urn, because it has been forbidden; so that the mind has its own white and black angel; the same or similar amusement as may be supposed to take place between an old debauchee and a prude — the feeling resentment, on the one hand, from a prudential anxiety to preserve appearances and have a character; and, on the other, an inward sympathy with the enemy. We have only to suppose society innocent, and then nine tenths of this sort of wit would be like a stone that falls in snow, making no sound, because exciting no resistance; the remainder rests on its being an offense against the good manners of human nature itself.

"This source, unworthy as it is, may doubtless be combined with wit, drollery, fancy, and even humor; and we have only to regret the misalliance; but

Some of that dreary *double entendre* may be attributed to freer times and manners than ours, but not all. The foul satyr's eyes leer out of the leaves constantly: the last words the famous author wrote were bad and wicked — the last lines the poor stricken wretch penned were for pity and pardon. I think of these past writers and of one who lives amongst us now, and am grateful for the innocent laughter and the sweet and unsullied page which the author of "David Copperfield" gives to my children.

"Jeté sur cette boule,
Laid, chétif et souffrant;
Etouffé dans la foule,
Faute d'être assez grand:

Une plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortit.
Le bon Dieu me dit: Chante,
Chante; pauvre petit!

Chanter ou je m'abuse,
Est ma tâche ici-bas.
Tous ceux qu'ainsi j'amuse
Ne m'aimeront-ils pas?"

In those charming lines of Béranger, one may fancy described the career, the sufferings, the genius, the gentle nature of Goldsmith, and the esteem in which we hold him. Who, of the millions whom he has amused, doesn't love him? To be the most beloved of English writers, what a title that is

that the latter are quite distinct from the former, may be made evident by abstracting in our imagination the morality of the characters of Mr. Shandy, my Uncle Toby, and Trim, which are all antagonists to this spurious sort of wit, from the rest of 'Tristram Shandy,' and by supposing, instead of them, the presence of two or three callous debauchees. The result will be pure disgust. Sterne cannot be too severely censured for thus using the best dispositions of our nature as the panders and condiments for the basest." — COLERIDGE, *Literary Remains*, vol. i. pp. 141, 142.

for a man! * A wild youth, wayward, but full of tenderness and affection, quits the country village, where his boyhood has been passed in happy musing, in idle shelter, in fond longing to see the great world out of doors, and achieve name and fortune: and after years of dire struggle, and neglect and poverty, his heart turning back as fondly to his native place as it had longed eagerly for change when sheltered there, he writes a book and a poem, full of the recollections and feelings of home: he paints the friends and scenes of his youth, and peoples Auburn and Wakefield with remembrances of Lissoy. Wander he must, but he carries away a home-relic with him, and dies with it on his breast. His nature is truant; in repose it longs for change: as on the journey it looks back for friends and quiet. He passes to-day in building an air-castle for to-morrow, or in writing yesterday's elegy; and he would fly away this hour, but that a cage and necessity keep him. What is the charm of his verse, of his style, and humor? His sweet regrets, his delicate compassion, his soft smile, his tremulous sympathy, the weakness which he owns? Your love for him is half pity. You come hot and tired from the day's battle, and this sweet minstrel sings to you. Who could harm the kind vagrant harper? Whom did he ever hurt? He carries no weapon, save the harp on which he plays to you; and with which he delights great and humble, young and old, the captains in

* "He was a friend to virtue, and in his most playful pages never forgets what is due to it. A gentleness, delicacy, and purity of feeling distinguishes whatever he wrote, and bears a correspondence to the generosity of a disposition which knew no bounds but his last guinea. . . .

"The admirable ease and grace of the narrative, as well as the pleasing truth with which the principal characters are designed, make the 'Vicar of Wakefield' one of the most delicious morsels of fictitious composition on which the human mind was ever employed.

". . . We read the 'Vicar of Wakefield' in youth and in age — we return to it again and again, and bless the memory of an author who contrives so well to reconcile us to human nature." — *Sir Walter Scott.*

the tents, or the soldiers round the fire, or the women and children in the villages, at whose porches he stops and sings his simple songs of love and beauty. With that sweet story of the "Vicar of Wakefield" * he has found entry into every castle and every hamlet in Europe. Not one of us, however

* "Now Herder came," says Goethe in his Autobiography, relating his first acquaintance with Goldsmith's masterpiece, "and together with his great knowledge brought many other aids, and the later publications besides. Among these he announced to us the 'Vicar of Wakefield' as an excellent work, with the German translation of which he would make us acquainted by reading it aloud to us himself. . . .

"A Protestant country clergyman is perhaps the most beautiful subject for a modern idyl; he appears like Melchizedeck, as priest and king in one person. To the most innocent situation which can be imagined on earth, to that of a husbandman, he is, for the most part, united by similarity of occupation as well as by equality in family relationship; he is a father, a master of a family, an agriculturist, and thus perfectly a member of the community. On this pure, beautiful earthly foundation rests his higher calling; to him is it given to guide men through life, to take care of their spiritual education, to bless them at all the leading epochs of their existence, to instruct, to strengthen, to console them, and, if consolation is not sufficient for the present, to call up and guarantee the hope of a happier future. Imagine such a man with pure human sentiments, strong enough not to deviate from them under any circumstances, and by this already elevated above the multitude of whom one cannot expect purity and firmness; give him the learning necessary for his office, as well as a cheerful, equable activity, which is even passionate, as it neglects no moment to do good — and you will have him well endowed. But at the same time add the necessary limitation, so that he must not only pause in a small circle, but may also, perchance, pass over to a smaller; grant him good nature, placability, resolution, and everything else praiseworthy that springs from a decided character, and over all this a cheerful spirit of compliance, and a smiling toleration of his own failings and those of others, — then you will have put together pretty well the image of our excellent Wakefield.

"The delineation of this character on his course of life through joys and sorrows, the ever-increasing interest of the story, by the combination of the entirely natural with the strange and the singular, make this novel one of the best which have ever been written; besides this, it has the great advantage that it is quite moral, nay, in a pure sense, Christian — represents the reward of a good will and perseverance in the right, strengthens an unconditional confidence in God, and attests the final triumph of good over evil; and all this without a trace of cant or pedantry. The author was preserved from both of these by an elevation of mind that shows itself throughout in the form of irony, by which this little work must appear to us as wise as it is amiable. The author, Dr. Goldsmith, has, without question, a great insight into the moral world, into its

busy or hard, but once or twice in our lives has passed an evening with him, and undergone the charm of his delightful music.

Goldsmith's father was no doubt the good Doctor Primrose, whom we all of us know.* Swift was yet alive, when the little Oliver was born at Pallas, or Pallasmore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland. In 1730, two years after the child's

strength and its infirmities; but at the same time he can thankfully acknowledge that he is an Englishman, and reckon highly the advantages which his country and his nation afford him. The family, with the delineation of which he occupies himself, stands upon one of the last steps of citizen comfort, and yet comes in contact with the highest; its narrow circle, which becomes still more contracted, touches upon the great world through the natural and civil course of things; this little skiff floats on the agitated waves of English life, and in weal or woe it has to expect injury or help from the vast fleet which sails around it.

"I may suppose that my readers know this work, and have it in memory; whoever hears it named for the first time here, as well as he who is induced to read it again, will thank me." — GOETHE. *Truth and Poetry; from my own Life.* (English Translation, vol. i. pp. 378, 379.)

"He seems from infancy to have been compounded of two natures, one bright, the other blundering; or to have had fairy gifts laid in his cradle by the 'good people' who haunted his birthplace, the old goblin mansion on the banks of the Inny. "He carries with him the wayward elfin spirit, if we may so term it, throughout his career. His fairy gifts are of no avail at school, academy, or college: they unfit him for close study and practical science, and render him heedless of everything that does not address itself to his poetical imagination and genial and festive feelings; they dispose him to break away from restraint, to stroll about hedges, green lanes, and haunted streams, to revel with jovial companions, or to rove the country like a gypsy in quest of odd adventures. . . . Though his circumstances often compelled him to associate with the poor, they never could betray him into companionship with the depraved. His relish for humor, and for the study of character, as we have before observed, brought him often into convivial company of a vulgar kind; but he discriminated between their vulgarity and their amusing qualities, or rather wrought from the whole store familiar features of life which form the staple of his most popular writings." — *Washington Irving.*

* "The family of Goldsmith, Goldsmyth, or, as it was occasionally written, Gouldsmith, is of considerable standing in Ireland, and seems always to have held a respectable station in society. Its origin is English, supposed to be derived from that which was long settled at Crayford in Kent." — PRIOR'S *Life of Goldsmith.*

Oliver's father, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather were clergymen; and two of them married clergymen's daughters.

birth, Charles Goldsmith removed his family to Lissoy, in the county Westmeath, that sweet "Auburn" which every person who hears me has seen in fancy. Here the kind parson* brought up his eight children; and loving all the world, as his son says, fancied all the world loved him. He had a crowd of poor dependants besides those hungry children. He kept an open table; round which sat flatterers and poor friends, who laughed at the honest rector's many jokes, and ate the produce of his seventy acres of farm. Those who have seen an Irish house in the present day can fancy that one of Lissoy. The old beggar still has his allotted corner by the kitchen turf; the maimed old soldier still gets his potatoes and buttermilk; the poor cottier still asks his honor's charity, and prays God bless his reverence for the sixpence; the ragged pensioner still takes his place by right and sufferance. There's still a crowd in the kitchen, and a crowd round the parlor table, profusion, confusion, kindness, poverty. If an Irishman comes to London to make his fortune, he has a half dozen of Irish dependants who take a percentage of his earnings. The good Charles Goldsmith† left but little

* "At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorn'd the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,
And fools who came to scoff remain'd to pray.
The service past, around the pious man,
With steady zeal each honest rustic ran;
E'en children follow'd with endearing wile,
And pluck'd his gown to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth exprest,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distrest;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven.
As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head." — *The Deserted Village.*

† "In May this year (1768), he lost his brother, the Rev. Henry Goldsmith, for whom he had been unable to obtain preferment in the Church. . . .

provision for his hungry race when death summoned him; and one of his daughters being engaged to a Squire of rather superior dignity, Charles Goldsmith impoverished the rest of his family to provide the girl with a dowry.

The smallpox, which scourged all Europe at that time, and ravaged the roses off the cheeks of half the world, fell foul of poor little Oliver's face, when the child was eight years old, and left him scarred and disfigured for his life. An old woman in his father's village taught him his letters, and pronounced him a dunce: Paddy Byrne, the hedge-schoolmaster, took him in hand: and from Paddy Byrne he was transmitted to a clergyman at Elphin. When a child was sent to school in those days, the classic phrase was that he was placed under Mr. So-and-so's *ferule*. Poor little ancestors! It is hard to think how ruthlessly you were birched; and how much of needless whipping and tears our small forefathers had to undergo! A relative — kind uncle Contarine — took the main charge of little Noll; who went through his school days righteously doing as little work as he could: robbing orchards, playing at ball, and making his pocket money fly about whenever fortune sent it to him. Everybody knows the story of that famous "Mistake of a Night," when the young

". . . To the curacy of Kilkenny West, the moderate stipend of which, forty pounds a year, is sufficiently celebrated by his brother's lines. It has been stated that Mr. Goldsmith added a school, which, after having been held at more than one place in the vicinity, was finally fixed at Lissoy. Here his talents and industry gave it celebrity, and under his care the sons of many of the neighboring gentry received their education. A fever breaking out among the boys about 1765, they dispersed for a time, but reassembling at Athlone, he continued his scholastic labors there until the time of his death, which happened, like that of his brother, about the forty-fifth year of his age. He was a man of an excellent heart and an amiable disposition." — PRIOR'S *Goldsmith*.

"Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart, untravel'd, fondly turns to thee:
Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain."

— *The Traveler*.

schoolboy, provided with a guinea and a nag, rode up to the "best house" in Ardagh, called for the landlord's company over a bottle of wine at supper, and for a hot cake for breakfast in the morning; and found, when he asked for the bill, that the best house was Squire Featherstone's, and not the inn for which he mistook it. Who does not know every story about Goldsmith? That is a delightful and fantastic picture of the child dancing and capering about in the kitchen at home, when the old fiddler gibed at him for his ugliness, and called him Æsop; and little Noll made his repartee of "Heralds proclaim aloud this saying — See Æsop dancing and his monkey playing." One can fancy a queer pitiful look of humor and appeal upon that little scarred face — the funny little dancing figure, the funny little brogue. In his life, and his writings, which are the honest expression of it, he is constantly bewailing that homely face and person; anon he surveys them in the glass ruefully; and presently assumes the most comical dignity. He likes to deck out his little person in splendor and fine colors. He presented himself to be examined for ordination in a pair of scarlet breeches, and said honestly that he did not like to go into the Church, because he was fond of colored clothes. When he tried to practice as a doctor, he got by hook or by crook a black velvet suit, and looked as big and grand as he could, and kept his hat over a patch on the old coat: in better days he bloomed out in plum color, in blue silk, and in new velvet. For some of those splendors the heirs and assignees of Mr. Filby, the tailor, have never been paid to this day: perhaps the kind tailor and his creditor have met and settled their little account in Hades.*

* "When Goldsmith died, half the unpaid bill he owed to Mr. William Filby (amounting in all to £79) was for clothes supplied to this nephew Hodson." — FORSTER'S *Goldsmith*, p. 520.

As this nephew Hodson ended his days (see the same page) "a prosperous Irish gentleman," it is not unreasonable to wish that he had cleared off Mr. Filby's bill.

They showed until lately a window at Trinity College,* Dublin, on which the name of O. Goldsmith was engraved with a diamond. Whose diamond was it? Not the young sizar's, who made but a poor figure in that place of learning. He was idle, penniless, and fond of pleasure:† he learned his way early to the pawnbroker's shop. He wrote ballads, they say, for the street singers, who paid him a crown for a poem: and his pleasure was to steal out at night and hear his verses sung. He was chastised by his tutor for giving a dance in his rooms, and took the box on the ear so much to heart, that he packed up his all, pawned his books and little property, and disappeared from college and family. He said he intended to go to America, but when his money was spent, the young prodigal came home ruefully, and the good folks there killed their calf — it was but a lean one — and welcomed him back.

After college he hung about his mother's house, and lived for some years the life of a buckeen — passed a month with this relation and that, a year with one patron, a great deal of time at the public house.‡ Tired of this life, it was resolved that he should go to London, and study at the Temple; but he got no farther on the road to London and the woolsack than Dublin, where he gambled away the fifty pounds given to him for his outfit, and whence he returned to the indefatigable forgiveness of home. Then he determined to be a doctor, and uncle Contarine helped him to a couple of years at Edinburgh. Then from Edinburgh he felt that he ought to

* [The pane is still preserved in the library of Trinity College.]

† "Poor fellow! He hardly knew an ass from a mule, nor a turkey from a goose, but when he saw it on the table." — CUMBERLAND'S *Memoirs*.

‡ "These youthful follies, like the fermentation of liquors, often disturb the mind only in order to its future refinement: a life spent in phlegmatic apathy resembles those liquors which never ferment, and are consequently always muddy." — GOLDSMITH. *Memoir of Voltaire*.

"He [Johnson] said 'Goldsmith was a plant that flowered late. There appeared nothing remarkable about him when he was young.'" — *Boswell*.

hear the famous professors of Leyden and Paris, and wrote most amusing pompous letters to his uncle about the great Farheim, Du Petit, and Duhamel du Monceau, whose lectures he proposed to follow. If uncle Contarine believed those letters — if Oliver's mother believed that story which the youth related of his going to Cork, with the purpose of embarking for America, of his having paid his passage-money, and having sent his kit on board; of the anonymous captain sailing away with Oliver's valuable luggage in a nameless ship, never to return; if uncle Contarine and the mother at Ballymahon believed his stories, they must have been a very simple pair; as it was a very simple rogue indeed who cheated them. When the lad, after failing in his clerical examination, after failing in his plan for studying the law, took leave of these projects and of his parents, and set out for Edinburgh, he saw mother, and uncle, and lazy Ballymahon, and green native turf, and sparkling river for the last time. He was never to look on old Ireland more, and only in fancy revisit her.

> "But me not destined such delights to share,
> My prime of life in wandering spent and care,
> Impelled, with steps unceasing to pursue
> Some fleeting good that mocks me with the view;
> That like the circle bounding earth and skies
> Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies:
> My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
> And find no spot of all the world my own."

I spoke in a former lecture of that high courage which enabled Fielding, in spite of disease, remorse, and poverty, always to retain a cheerful spirit and to keep his manly benevolence and love of truth intact, as if these treasures had been confided to him for the public benefit, and he was accountable to posterity for their honorable employ; and a constancy equally happy and admirable I think was shown by Goldsmith, whose sweet and friendly nature bloomed kindly

always in the midst of a life's storm, and rain, and bitter weather.* The poor fellow was never so friendless but he could befriend some one; never so pinched and wretched but he could give of his crust, and speak his word of compassion. If he had but his flute left, he could give that, and make the children happy in the dreary London court. He could give the coals in that queer coal-scuttle we read of to his poor neighbor: he could give away his blankets in college to the poor widow, and warm himself as he best might in the feathers: he could pawn his coat to save his landlord from jail: when he was a school-usher he spent his earnings in treats for the boys, and the good-natured schoolmaster's wife said justly that she ought to keep Mr. Goldsmith's money as well as the young gentlemen's. When he met his pupils in later life, nothing would satisfy the Doctor but he must treat them still. "Have you seen the print of me after Sir Joshua Reynolds?" he asked of one of his old pupils. "Not seen it? not bought it? Sure, Jack, if your picture had been published, I'd not have been without it half-an-hour." His purse and his heart were everybody's, and his friends' as much as his own. When he was at the height of his reputation, and the Earl of Northumberland, going as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, asked if he could be of any service to Doctor Goldsmith, Goldsmith recommended his brother, and not himself, to the great man. "My patrons," he gallantly said, "are the booksellers, and I want no others." † Hard patrons they were, and hard

* "An 'inspired idiot,' Goldsmith, hangs strangely about him [Johnson]. . . . Yet, on the whole, there is no evil in the 'gooseberry fool,' but rather much good; of a finer, if of a weaker sort than Johnson's; and all the more genuine that he himself could never become *conscious* of it, — though unhappily never cease *attempting* to become so: the author of the genuine 'Vicar of Wakefield,' nill he will he, must needs fly towards such a mass of genuine manhood." — CARLYLE'S *Essays* (2d ed.), vol. iv. p. 91.

† "At present, the few poets of England no longer depend on the great for subsistence; they have now no other patrons but the public, and the public, collectively considered, is a good and generous master. It is indeed too fre-

work he did; but he did not complain much: if in his early writings some bitter words escaped him, some allusions to neglect and poverty, he withdrew these expressions when his works were republished, and better days seemed to open for him; and he did not care to complain that printer or publisher had overlooked his merit, or left him poor. The Court face was turned from honest Oliver, the Court patronized Beattie; the fashion did not shine on him — fashion adored Sterne.* Fashion pronounced Kelly to be the great writer of

quently mistaken as to the merits of every candidate for favor; but to make amends it is never mistaken long. A performance indeed may be forced for a time into reputation, but, destitute of real merit, it soon sinks; time, the touchstone of what is truly valuable, will soon discover the fraud, and an author should never arrogate to himself any share of success till his works have been read at least ten years with satisfaction.

"A man of letters at present, whose works are valuable, is perfectly sensible of their value. Every polite member of the community, by buying what he writes, contributes to reward him. The ridicule, therefore, of living in a garret might have been wit in the last age, but continues such no longer, because no longer true. A writer of real merit now may easily be rich, if his heart be set only on fortune; and for those who have no merit, it is but fit that such should remain in merited obscurity." — GOLDSMITH. *Citizen of the World*, Let. 84.

* Goldsmith attacked Sterne obviously enough, censuring his indecency and slighting his wit, and ridiculing his manner, in the 53d letter in the "Citizen of the World."

"As in common conversation," says he, "the best way to make the audience laugh is by first laughing yourself; so in writing, the properest manner is to show an attempt at humor, which will pass upon most for humor in reality. To effect this, readers must be treated with the most perfect familiarity; in one page the author is to make them a low bow, and in the next to pull them by the nose; he must talk in riddles, and then send them to bed in order to dream for the solution," &c.

Sterne's humorous *mot* on the subject of the gravest part of the charges, then, as now, made against him, may perhaps be quoted here, from the excellent, the respectable Sir Walter Scott: —

"Soon after 'Tristram' had appeared, Sterne asked a Yorkshire lady of fortune and condition, whether she had read his book. 'I have not, Mr. Sterne,' was the answer; 'and to be plain with you, I am informed it is not proper for female perusal.' 'My dear good lady,' replied the author, 'do not be gulled by such stories; the book is like your young heir there' (pointing to a child of three years old, who was rolling on the carpet in his white tunic): 'he shows at times a good deal that is usually concealed, but it is all in perfect innocence.'"

comedy of his day. A little — not ill-humor, but plaintiveness — a little betrayal of wounded pride which he showed render him not the less amiable. The author of the "Vicar of Wakefield" had a right to protest when Newbery kept back the manuscript for two years; had a right to be a little peevish with Sterne; a little angry when Colman's actors declined their parts in his delightful comedy, when the manager refused to have a scene painted for it, and pronounced its damnation before hearing. He had not the great public with him; but he had the noble Johnson, and the admirable Reynolds, and the great Gibbon, and the great Burke, and the great Fox — friends and admirers illustrious indeed, as famous as those who, fifty years before, sat round Pope's table.

Nobody knows, and I dare say Goldsmith's buoyant temper kept no account of, all the pains which he endured during the early period of his literary career. Should any man of letters in our day have to bear up against such, Heaven grant he may come out of the period of misfortune with such a pure kind heart as that which Goldsmith obstinately bore in his breast. The insults to which he had to submit are shocking to read of — slander, contumely, vulgar satire, brutal malignity perverting his commonest motives and actions; he had his share of these, and one's anger is roused at reading of them, as it is at seeing a woman insulted or a child assaulted, at the notion that a creature so very gentle and weak, and full of love, should have had to suffer so. And he had worse than insult to undergo — to own to fault and deprecate the anger of ruffians. There is a letter of his extant to one Griffiths, a bookseller, in which poor Goldsmith is forced to confess that certain books sent by Griffiths are in the hands of a friend from whom Goldsmith had been forced to borrow money. "He was wild, sir," Johnson said, speaking of Goldsmith to Boswell, with his great, wise benevolence and noble mercifulness of heart — "Dr. Goldsmith was

wild, sir; but he is so no more." Ah! if we pity the good and weak man who suffers undeservedly, let us deal very gently with him from whom misery extorts not only tears, but shame; let us think humbly and charitably of the human nature that suffers so sadly and falls so low. Whose turn may it be to-morrow? What weak heart, confident before trial, may not succumb under temptation invincible? Cover the good man who has been vanquished — cover his face and pass on.

For the last half dozen years of his life, Goldsmith was far removed from the pressure of any ignoble necessity: and in the receipt, indeed, of a pretty large income from the booksellers his patrons. Had he lived but a few years more, his public fame would have been as great as his private reputation, and he might have enjoyed alive a part of that esteem which his country has ever since paid to the vivid and versatile genius who has touched on almost every subject of literature, and touched nothing that he did not adorn. Except in rare instances, a man is known in our profession, and esteemed as a skillful workman, years before the lucky hit which trebles his usual gains, and stamps him a popular author. In the strength of his age, and the dawn of his reputation, having for backers and friends the most illustrious literary men of his time,* fame and prosperity might have been in store for Goldsmith, had fate so willed it, and, at forty-six, had not sudden disease carried him off. I say prosperity rather than competence, for

* "Goldsmith told us that he was now busy in writing a Natural History; and that he might have full leisure for it, he had taken lodgings at a farmer's house, near to the six-mile stone in the Edgware Road, and had carried down his books in two returned post chaises. He said he believed the farmer's family thought him an odd character, similar to that in which the *Spectator* appeared to his landlady and her children; he was *The Gentleman*. Mr. Mickle, the translator of the *Lusiad*, and I, went to visit him at this place a few days afterwards. He was not at home; but having a curiosity to see his apartment, we went in, and found curious scraps of descriptions of animals scrawled upon the wall with a blacklead pencil." — *Boswell*.

it is probable that no sum could have put order into his affairs, or sufficed for his irreclaimable habits of dissipation. It must be remembered that he owed £2000 when he died. "Was ever poet," Johnson asked, "so trusted before?" As has been the case with many another good fellow of his nation, his life was tracked and his substance wasted by crowds of hungry beggars and lazy dependants. If they came at a lucky time (and be sure they knew his affairs better than he did himself and watched his pay day), he gave them of his money: if they begged on empty-purse days, he gave them his promissory bills: or he treated them to a tavern where he had credit; or he obliged them with an order upon honest Mr. Filby for coats, for which he paid as long as he could earn, and until the shears of Filby were to cut for him no more. Staggering under a load of debt and labor, tracked by bailiffs and reproachful creditors, running from a hundred poor dependants, whose appealing looks were perhaps the hardest of all pains for him to bear, devising fevered plans for the morrow, new histories, new comedies, all sorts of new literary schemes, flying from all these into seclusion, and out of seclusion into pleasure — at last, at five-and-forty, death seized him and closed his career.* I have been many a time in the chambers in the Temple which were his, and passed up the staircase, which Johnson and Burke and Reynolds trod to see their friend, their poet, their kind Goldsmith — the stair on which the poor women sat weeping bitterly when they heard that the greatest and most generous of all men was dead within

* "When Goldsmith was dying, Dr. Turton said to him, 'Your pulse is in greater disorder than it should be, from the degree of fever which you have; is your mind at ease?' Goldsmith answered it was not." — *Dr. Johnson* (in *Boswell*).

"Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He had raised money and squandered it, by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. But let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man." — *Dr. Johnson* to *Boswell*, July 5th, 1774.

the black oak door.* Ah! it was a different lot from that for which the poor fellow sighed, when he wrote with heart yearning for home those most charming of all fond verses, in which he fancies he revisits Auburn: —

"Here, as I take my solitary rounds,
Amidst thy tangling walks and ruined grounds,
And, many a year elapsed, return to view
Where once the cottage stood, the hawthorn grew,
Remembrance wakes, with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast, and turns the past to pain.

"In all my wanderings round this world of care,
In all my griefs — and God has given my share —
I still had hopes, my latest hours to crown,
Amidst these humble bowers to lay me down;
To husband out life's taper at the close,
And keep the flame from wasting by repose;
I still had hopes — for pride attends us still —
Amidst the swains to show my book-learned skill,
Around my fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of all I felt and all I saw;
And, as a hare, whom hounds and horns pursue,
Pants to the place from whence at first he flew —
I still had hopes, my long vexations past,
Here to return, and die at home at last.

"O blest retirement, friend to life's decline!
Retreats from care that never must be mine —

* "When Burke was told [of Goldsmith's death] he burst into tears. Reynolds was in his painting-room when the messenger went to him; but at once he laid his pencil aside, which in times of great family distress he had not been known to do, left his painting-room, and did not reënter it that day. . . .

"The staircase of Brick Court is said to have been filled with mourners, the reverse of domestic; women without a home, without domesticity of any kind, with no friend but him they had come to weep for; outcasts of that great, solitary, wicked city, to whom he had never forgotten to be kind and charitable. And he had domestic mourners, too. His coffin was reopened at the request of Miss Horneck and her sister (such was the regard he was known to have for them!) that a lock might be cut from his hair. It was in Mrs. Gwyn's possession when she died, after nearly seventy years." — FORSTER's *Goldsmith*.

How blest is he who crowns, in shades like these,
A youth of labor with an age of ease;
Who quits a world where strong temptations try,
And, since 'tis hard to combat, learns to fly!
For him no wretches born to work and weep
Explore the mine or tempt the dangerous deep;
No surly porter stands in guilty state
To spurn imploring famine from the gate:
But on he moves to meet his latter end,
Angels around befriending virtue's friend;
Sinks to the grave with unperceived decay,
Whilst resignation gently slopes the way;
And all his prospects brightening to the last,
His heaven commences ere the world be past."

In these verses, I need not say with what melody, with what touching truth, with what exquisite beauty of comparison — as indeed in hundreds more pages of the writings of this honest soul — the whole character of the man is told — his humble confession of faults and weakness; his pleasant little vanity, and desire that his village should admire him; his simple scheme of good in which everybody was to be happy — no beggar was to be refused his dinner — nobody in fact was to work much, and he to be the harmless chief of the Utopia, and the monarch of the Irish Yvetot. He would have told again, and without fear of their failing, those famous jokes * which had hung fire in London; he would have talked of his great

* "Goldsmith's incessant desire of being conspicuous in company was the occasion of his sometimes appearing to such disadvantage, as one should hardly have supposed possible in a man of his genius. When his literary reputation had risen deservedly high, and his society was much courted, he became very jealous of the extraordinary attention which was everywhere paid to Johnson. One evening, in a circle of wits, he found fault with me for talking of Johnson as entitled to the honor of unquestionable superiority. 'Sir,' said he, 'you are for making a monarchy of what should be a republic.'

"He was still more mortified, when, talking in a company with fluent vivacity, and, as he flattered himself, to the admiration of all present, a German who sat next him, and perceived Johnson rolling himself as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, 'Stay, stay — Toctor Shonson is going to zay zomething.'

friends of the Club — of my Lord Clare and my Lord Bishop, my Lord Nugent — sure he knew them intimately, and was hand and glove with some of the best men in town — and he would have spoken of Johnson and of Burke, and of Sir Joshua who had painted him — and he would have told wonderful sly stories of Ranelagh and the Pantheon, and the masquerades at Madame Cornelys; and he would have toasted, with a sigh, the Jessamy Bride — the lovely Mary Horneck.

This was no doubt very provoking, especially to one so irritable as Goldsmith, who frequently mentioned it with strong expressions of indignation.

"It may also be observed that Goldsmith was sometimes content to be treated with an easy familiarity, but upon occasions would be consequential and important. An instance of this occurred in a small particular. Johnson had a way of contracting the names of his friends, as Beauclerk, Beau; Boswell, Bozzy. . . . I remember one day, when Tom Davies was telling that Doctor Johnson said — 'We are all in labor for a name to *Goldy's* play,' Goldsmith seemed displeased that such a liberty should be taken with his name, and said, 'I have often desired him not to call me *Goldy*.'"

This is one of several of Boswell's depreciatory mentions of Goldsmith — which may well irritate biographers and admirers, and also those who take that more kindly and more profound view of Boswell's own character, which was opened up by Mr. Carlyle's famous article on his book. No wonder that Mr. Irving calls Boswell an "incarnation of toadyism." And the worst of it is, that Johnson himself has suffered from this habit of the Laird of Auchinleck's. People are apt to forget under what Boswellian stimulus the great Doctor uttered many hasty things: — things no more indicative of the nature of the depths of his character than the phosphoric gleaming of the sea, when struck at night, is indicative of radical corruption of nature! In truth, it is clear enough on the whole that both Johnson and Goldsmith *appreciated* each other, and that they mutually knew it. They were, as it were, tripped up and flung against each other, occasionally, by the blundering and silly gambolling of people in company.

Something must be allowed for Boswell's "rivalry for Johnson's good graces" with Oliver (as Sir Walter Scott has remarked), for Oliver was intimate with the Doctor before his biographer was, — and, as we all remember, marched off with him to "take tea with Mrs. Williams" before Boswell had advanced to that honorable degree of intimacy. But, in truth, Boswell — though he perhaps showed more talent in his delineation of the Doctor than is generally ascribed to him — had not faculty to take a fair view of *two* great men at a time. Besides, as Mr. Forster justly remarks, "he was impatient of Goldsmith from the first hour of their acquaintance." — *Life and Adventures*, p. 292.

The figure of that charming young lady forms one of the prettiest recollections of Goldsmith's life. She and her beautiful sister, who married Bunbury, the graceful and humorous amateur artist of those days when Gilray had but just begun to try his powers, were among the kindest and dearest of Goldsmith's many friends, cheered and pitied him, traveled abroad with him, made him welcome at their home, and gave him many a pleasant holiday. He bought his finest clothes to figure at their country house at Barton — he wrote them droll verses. They loved him, laughed at him, played him tricks and made him happy. He asked for a loan from Garrick, and Garrick kindly supplied him, to enable him to go to Barton: but there were to be no more holidays and only one brief struggle more for poor Goldsmith. A lock of his hair was taken from the coffin and given to the Jessamy Bride. She lived quite into our time. Hazlitt saw her an old lady, but beautiful still, in Northcote's painting-room, who told the eager critic how proud she always was that Goldsmith had admired her. The younger Colman has left a touching reminiscence of him (vol. i. 63, 64):

"I was only five years old," he says, "when Goldsmith took me on his knee one evening whilst he was drinking coffee with my father, and began to play with me, which amiable act I returned, with the ingratitude of a peevish brat, by giving him a very smart slap on the face: it must have been a tingler, for it left the marks of my spiteful paw on his cheek. This infantile outrage was followed by summary justice, and I was locked up by my indignant father in an adjoining room to undergo solitary imprisonment in the dark. Here I began to howl and scream most abominably, which was no bad step towards my liberation, since those who were not inclined to pity me might be likely to set me free for the purpose of abating a nuisance.

"At length a generous friend appeared to extricate me from jeopardy, and that generous friend was no other than the man I had so wantonly molested by assault and battery — it was the tender-hearted Doctor himself, with a lighted candle in his hand and a smile upon his countenance, which was still partially red from the effects of my petulance. I sulked and sobbed as he fondled and soothed, till I began to brighten. Goldsmith seized the propitious moment of returning good humor, when he put down the candle and began to conjure. He placed three hats, which happened to be in the room, and a shilling under each. The shillings, he told me, were England, France, and Spain. 'Hey presto cockalorum!' cried the Doctor, and lo, on uncovering the shillings, which had been dispersed each beneath a separate hat, they were all found congregated under one. I was no politician at five years old, and therefore might not have wondered at the sudden revolution which brought England, France, and Spain all under one crown; but as also I was no conjurer, it amazed me beyond measure. . . . From that time, whenever the Doctor came to visit my father, 'I plucked his gown to share the good man's smile;' a game at romps constantly ensued, and we were always cordial friends and merry playfellows. Our unequal companionship varied somewhat as to sports as I grew older; but it did not last long: my senior playmate died in his forty-fifth year, when I had attained my eleventh. . . . In all the numerous accounts of his virtues and foibles, his genius and absurdities, his knowledge of nature and ignorance of the world, his 'compassion for another's woe' was always predominant; and my trivial story of his humoring a froward child weighs but as a feather in the recorded scale of his benevolence."

Think of him reckless, thriftless, vain, if you like — but merciful, gentle, generous, full of love and pity. He passes out of our life, and goes to render his account beyond it.

Think of the poor pensioners weeping at his grave; think of the noble spirits that admired and deplored him; think of the righteous pen that wrote his epitaph — and of the wonderful and unanimous response of affection with which the world has paid back the love he gave it. His humor delighting us still: his song fresh and beautiful as when first he charmed with it: his words in all our mouths: his very weaknesses beloved and familiar — his benevolent spirit seems still to smile upon us; to do gentle kindnesses: to succor with sweet charity: to soothe, caress, and forgive: to plead with the fortunate for the unhappy and the poor.

His name is the last in the list of those men of humor who have formed the themes of the discourses which you have heard so kindly.

Long before I had ever hoped for such an audience, or dreamed of the possibility of the good fortune which has brought me so many friends, I was at issue with some of my literary brethren upon a point — which they held from tradition I think rather than experience — that our profession was neglected in this country; and that men of letters were ill received and held in slight esteem. It would hardly be grateful of me now to alter my old opinion that we do meet with good-will and kindness, with generous helping hands in the time of our necessity, with cordial and friendly recognition. What claim had any one of these of whom I have been speaking, but genius? What return of gratitude, fame, affection, did it not bring to all?

What punishment befell those who were unfortunate among them, but that which follows reckless habits and careless lives? For these faults a wit must suffer like the dullest prodigal that ever ran in debt. He must pay the tailor if he wears the coat; his children must go in rags if he spends his money at the tavern; he can't come to London and be made

Lord Chancellor if he stops on the road and gambles away his last shilling at Dublin. And he must pay the social penalty of these follies too, and expect that the world will shun the man of bad habits, that women will avoid the man of loose life, that prudent folks will close their doors as a precaution, and before a demand should be made on their pockets by the needy prodigal. With what difficulty had any one of these men to contend, save that eternal and mechanical one of want of means and lack of capital, and of which thousands of young lawyers, young doctors, young soldiers and sailors, of inventors, manufacturers, shopkeepers, have to complain? Hearts as brave and resolute as ever beat in the breast of any wit or poet, sicken and break daily in the vain endeavor and unavailing struggle against life's difficulty. Don't we see daily ruined inventors, gray-haired midshipmen, balked heroes, blighted curates, barristers pining a hungry life out in chambers, the attorneys never mounting to their garrets, whilst scores of them are rapping at the door of the successful quack below? If these suffer, who is the author, that he should be exempt? Let us bear our ills with the same constancy with which others endure them, accept our manly part in life, hold our own, and ask no more. I can conceive of no kings or laws causing or curing Goldsmith's improvidence, or Fielding's fatal love of pleasure, or Dick Steele's mania for running races with the constable. You never can outrun that sure-footed officer — not by any swiftness or by dodges devised by any genius, however great; and he carries off the Tatler to the spunging house, or taps the Citizen of the World on the shoulder as he would any other mortal.

Does society look down on a man because he is an author? I suppose if people want a buffoon they tolerate him only in so far as he is amusing; it can hardly be expected that they should respect him as an equal. Is there to be a guard of honor provided for the author of the last new novel or poem?

how long is he to reign, and keep other potentates out of possession? He retires, grumbles, and prints a lamentation that literature is despised. If Captain A. is left out of Lady B.'s parties, he does not state that the army is despised: if Lord C. no longer askes Counselor D. to dinner, Counselor D. does not announce that the bar is insulted. He is not fair to society if he enters it with this suspicion hankering about him; if he is doubtful about his reception, how hold up his head honestly, and look frankly in the face that world about which he is full of suspicion? Is he place-hunting, and thinking in his mind that he ought to be made an Ambassador like Prior, or a Secretary of State like Addison? his pretense of equality falls to the ground at once; he is scheming for a patron, not shaking the hand of a friend, when he meets the world. Treat such a man as he deserves; laugh at his buffoonery, and give him a dinner and a *bon jour;* laugh at his self-sufficiency and absurd assumptions of superiority, and his equally ludicrous airs of martyrdom: laugh at his flattery and his scheming, and buy it, if it's worth the having. Let the wag have his dinner and the hireling his pay, if you want him, and make a profound bow to the *grand homme incompris*, and the boisterous martyr, and show him the door. The great world, the great aggregate experience, has its good sense, as it has its good humor. It detects a pretender, as it trusts a loyal heart. It is kind in the main: how should it be otherwise than kind, when it is so wise and clear-headed? To any literary man who says, "It despises my profession," I say, with all my might — no, no, no. It may pass over your individual case — how many a brave fellow has failed in the race and perished unknown in the struggle! — but it treats you as you merit in the main. If you serve it, it is not unthankful; if you please it, it is pleased; if you cringe to it, it detects you, and scorns you if you are mean; it returns your cheerfulness with its good humor; it deals not ungenerously with your

weaknesses; it recognizes most kindly your merits; it gives you a fair place and fair play. To any one of those men of whom we have spoken was it in the main ungrateful? A king might refuse Goldsmith a pension, as a publisher might keep his masterpiece and the delight of all the world in his desk for two years; but it was mistake, and not ill-will. Noble and illustrious names of Swift, and Pope, and Addison! dear and honored memories of Goldsmith and Fielding! kind friends, teachers, benefactors! who shall say that our country, which continues to bring you such an unceasing tribute of applause, admiration, love, sympathy, does not do honor to the literary calling in the honor which it bestows upon *you?*

NOTES

For accounts of Thackeray's life and work the student may consult the following: the article by Sir Leslie Stephen in the "Dictionary of National Biography"; Lady Ritchie's introductions to the Biographical Edition; the "Life" by Merivale and Marzials in the "Great Writers" series, 1891; the "Life" by Trollope, "English Men of Letters" series, 1880; and the "Life" by Lewis Melville, 1899, in two volumes, well reviewed by L. W. Payne, Jr., in the *Sewanee Review* for October, 1900.

The most serviceable edition of Thackeray's works for the general reader is the Biographical Edition, Harper and Brothers, 1903.

1 18 James Hannay (1827–1873): Thackeray before sailing for America turned over the lectures on the humorists to Hannay to be annotated and gotten into shape for publication.

Hannay had been in the navy for some years, but had taken up literature as a profession. He was the author of many magazine articles, and the editor of *Pasquin* and later of *The Puppet Show*, both comic papers. He utilized his naval experiences in "Sketches in Ultramarine." In 1854 he published a book of lectures on "Satire and Satirists." He was appointed consul at Brest, but exchanged this post for that of Barcelona, where he died suddenly, January 9, 1873. For fuller information the student may see the article by his son in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

SWIFT

The special student of Swift may read the "Life" by Henry Craik (1882), the "Life" by John Forster (1875), and Sir Leslie Stephen's "Life" in the "English Men of Letters" series. The first is perhaps the best, the second interesting for many of the details given, the third useful for its brevity, though rather barren.

Thackeray has another portrait in "Henry Esmond," Chapter V, Book III, where the picture of Swift is even more unsatisfactory than in the "Humorists."

It is disappointing to know that Thackeray, who, it would seem,

found it so easy to forgive Steele his weaknesses and the frailties of his very human heart, could not better understand the faults and virtues of Swift's strong soul. Swift's nature seems to have been a mixture of pride and self-abnegation, an imperious temper and a deep remorse of conscience, and behind it all a hungry heart. He hid almost fiercely an almost fierce need for love and friends. To confer a favor seemed a necessity with him, for he constantly petitioned in some one's behalf; to give and to care for was a daily activity and his charities were numberless. Like Dr. Johnson, who misjudged him, he had his charities among old women and among the sick and helpless; and though he ruled them squarely and firmly, he relieved and directed them. All this with self-reproaches and humiliations in his closet, but outwardly a reserve, a silence, even among his closest friends. Too proud to be vain among men, as he himself said, he felt the vanity and show of life; and in his shame and rage, lashed himself and others with satire after satire and jest after jest. He meant to be candid, real, especially with himself; though his early humiliations and violent prejudices often misled him. Finally, much of the current judgment of Swift's character and disposition is based on the more copious records of his last diseased and unhappy years.

1 5 **Harlequin**: a stock rôle in the early Italian comedy. Harlequins wore motley and played clownish parts. The name is said to have been given first to an Italian actor who was patronized by the family of Harlay in Paris, and consequently called by his comrades "Harlequino," little Harlay.

2 21 **Kilkenny**: Congreve and Berkeley also went to this school.

4 10 **Johnson**: apropos of "Gulliver's Travels" Dr. Johnson said, "When once you have thought of big men and little men, it is very easy to do all the rest." He liked "The Tale of the Tub," there was in it such "vigor of mind, such a swarm of thoughts, so much of nature, and art, and life." Boswell, ed. Hill, Vol. II, 364–365.

8 7 **Macheath**: the highwayman hero of Gay's "Beggar's Opera," 1728.

8 14 **mitre and crozier**: the mitre is a tall cap terminating in two peaks; the crozier is a crook or cross. Both express the office of popes, archbishops, and bishops. In a letter to Lord Halifax, Swift wrote: "Pray my lord, desire Dr. Smith to die about the fall of the leaf, for he has a prebend of Westminster which will make me your neighbor, and a sinecure in the country, both in the Queen's gift . . . the late king promised me a prebend of Westminster, when I petitioned him in pursuance of a recommendation I had from Sir William Temple." Forster, Vol. I, p. 259.

9 36 **Guiscard**: Guiscard made an attempt to kill Harley, the head of the Tory ministry, March 8, 1711. He succeeded only in wounding him, and was himself wounded by St. John (Bolingbroke) and Lord Paulet. He died in prison shortly after.

10 2 **condottieri**: soldiers of fortune.

10 2 **The Boyne**: the battle of the Boyne was fought July 1, 1690, on the River Boyne in eastern Ireland. The forces of James II, the deposed Stuart, were here defeated by William, who, together with his wife, the Princess Mary, had supplanted him on the English throne in 1688. See Cheney's "Short History of England," p. 516.

10 8 **South Sea Bubble**: the South Sea Company, planned to extinguish the national debt, was granted a monopoly of the South Sea trade. Speculation over the stock went wild, and when the crash came, thousands of people were ruined. (See Cheney's "Short History of England," p. 544.) Thackeray here compares the scramble for political favors in Swift's day to the rage for stocks in the South Sea Bubble.

11 1 **coup**: a blow, a move, a trick.

11 6 **Copenhagen**: When the English learned that Napoleon planned to seize the Danish fleet, hitherto neutral, they demanded that the fleet be turned over to them for keeping till a suitable time for returning it. Upon the Danes' refusal to give up the fleet, the English took Copenhagen by bombardment and subsequently refused to keep their promise of returning the fleet to its owners, on the ground that force had been necessary to acquire it. This conduct was condemned by many persons at the time (1807), and is here used humorously by Thackeray as an example of a tardy pretext.

12 39 **Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!** Mantua alas too near the wretched Cremona! Virgil, Eclogue IX, l. 28. Clever punning.

13 1 **the poetical power**: in Swift's verse the general style of the century is against him, and tends to make the outer form of his poetry conventional and cold. Under the form there burns real feeling and pathos, rather felt than expressed in the verse itself.

13 9 **Sir William Temple** (1628–1699): statesman and diplomat; author of numerous essays and dissertations on political and literary subjects. Swift assisted him in the writing of his memoirs.

13 10 **King William taught him to cut asparagus in the Dutch fashion**: King William "was so far gracious as to offer to make Swift a captain of horse, and instruct him in the Dutch method of eating asparagus. By this last phrase hangs an anecdote of later days. Faulkner, the Dublin printer, was dining with Swift, and on asking for a second supply of

asparagus, was told by the Dean to finish what he had on his plate. 'What, sir, eat my stalks?' 'Aye, sir, King William always ate his stalks.'" The "Life" by Sir Leslie Stephen, p. 19.

14 3 **ambrosial wig**: the first word signifies the power to confer immortality. It was the conventional epithet for the rich hair of the gods. The two ideas remembered help to point the whimsical cleverness of Thackeray's present use of the word.

14 34 **Molinists**: the followers of the Jesuit Luis Molina, 1535–1600. The leading doctrine of Molinism concerns the relation of divine grace to man's will. The doctrine is that predestination is "consequent on God's foreknowledge of the free determination of man's will;" and that it does not therefore effect the freedom of the particular action. Over this doctrine waged a great controversy. All Jesuits have not yet accepted it. See the "International Encyclopedia."

15 13 **Mild Dorothea, peaceful**, etc.: from Swift's lines "Occasioned by Sir William Temple's Late Illness and Recovery," lines 41–42. Dorothea was Sir William Temple's wife; Dorinda stands for his sister, Lady Gifford, who was his constant companion.

15 16 "**Those who would grief describe, might come and trace**": lines 51–52 of the same poem on Temple's illness. The original reads: "You that would grief describe, come here and trace." Thackeray then omits six lines. "To see her weep," should be "Thus when Dorinda wept."

16 12 **moxa**: "a soft downy substance prepared in China and Japan from the leaves of the *Artemisia moxa* and used as a cautery." Century Dictionary.

17 7 **Teague**: a gawky Irish lad, famous for his blunders.

17 21 **plates-bandes**: platbands, borders of flowers.

17 22 **Epicurus**: a Greek philosopher, 341–270 B.C. **Diogenes Laertius**, the name ascribed to the supposed author of a collection of biographical notes on the famous philosophers, written in the reigns of Septimus Severus and Caracalla. **Semiramis** was one of the mythical founders of the Assyrian empire, perhaps originally a goddess. Dante mentions her in Hell, "ell' é Semiramís, di cui si legge." "Inferno," V, l. 58.

17 23 **the gardens of the Hesperides**: the fabled gardens of the west, where the golden apples were tended by the daughters of Hesperus.

17 23 **Mæcenas**: 73 or 63–8 B.C. Prime minister under Augustus, and the foremost patron of letters in the Augustan age. Virgil and Horace especially benefited by his favor. **Strabo**, 63–21 B.C. about. A celebrated geographer.

17 27 **Epicurean**: Epicurus (see above) taught that pleasure is the

end of rational action, and that perfect pleasure consists in freedom from disturbance. Epicureanism, though unjustly, came to stand for the voluptuous life of the senses and the pleasures of the flesh. Sir William Temple was Epicurean in his love for gardens and retirement and in his naturalistic view of the world.

17 28 **Pythagorean**: Pythagoras was a Greek philosopher of the sixth century B.C. The data and the testimony as to what his teachings were differ widely, and there is no exact agreement on the matter. The transmigration of souls and the theory of numbers are two doctrines ascribed to him.

19 4 **Bishop Kennet** (1660–1728): Bishop of Peterborough; known as a philologist, antiquarian, topographer, and historian.

20 1 **Thorold** (1606–1664): a Jesuit whose real name was Thomas Carwell. He wrote against Archbishop Laud.

20 4 **F. Gwynne**: (1648–1734): a politician, M. P. from Cardiff, Chippenham, and other places, Irish Secretary, etc. He wrote a diary of James II's expedition to the West.

20 (NOTE 3) **Dr. Fiddes,** Richard (1671–1725): divine, befriended by Swift. He attacks Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees." See p. 65, Note 7, in "A General Treatise on Morality."

21 3 **a potato and a friendly word**: not bad as fancy. The preference of Goldsmith's potato and friendly word, however, would depend on one's hunger and amount of what Swift would have called "alarmed pride, vanity, or conceit."

21 8 **no Irishman ever**: apropos of the Irish Thackeray once said that all he had ever loved best in this world was Irish, referring to his wife.

21 13 **with such secrecy that the guests . . .**: may it not be the case that Thackeray's interpretation here is unhappy? The secrecy may very well have been a part of Swift's intense reserve.

21 18 **"Tale of a Tub"**: published anonymously in 1704, a satire on religious controversies and enthusiasms. It is regarded by many critics as one of the great books in English prose.

22 2 **Bolingbroke**: Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, 1678–1751, well known by his contemporaries as a statesman and an orator, and as a writer on political, philosophical, and literary subjects. Pope admired him greatly and made, in the "Essay on Man," poetical use of his philosophical writings.

22 9 **John Gay** (1685–1732): poet and dramatist, the "Fables" and "The Beggar's Opera" being, perhaps, the best known of his works.

23 12 **"Peccavi"**: I am a sinner.

23 15 **hiccuped**: observe this among many instances of Thackeray's clever use of the concrete verb.

25 6 **Abudah**: a wealthy merchant of Bagdad, in the "Tales of the Genii," by H. R. Ridley. Abudah is driven by a hag to seek the talisman of Oromanes. He finds the talisman at last: to fear God and keep his commandments. Whereupon the hag, who is Conscience, leaves him. See Brewer's "The Reader's Handbook."

25 16 "**sæva indignatio**": Swift's tombstone bore the following inscription, written by himself: —

Hic depositum est corpus
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis
Decani
Ubi sæva indignatio
Ulterius cor lacerare nequit
Abi viator
Et imitare, si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem
Obiit anno (1745)
Mensis (Octobris) die (19)
Ætatis anno (78).

The lines may be translated: —

Here lies the body of Jonathan Swift, | S. T. P., dean of this cathedral church | where bitter indignation | no more may rend his heart, | Go traveler | And imitate, if you can, this stanch defender, in so far as he was able, of liberty. | He died in the year 1745, the 19th day of October, in the 78th year of his age.

25 24 **Drapier's Letters**: in 1724 a patent was granted to William Wood, a proprietor of extensive iron works, to issue 180,000 pounds' worth of halfpence and farthings, in debased currency, for use in Ireland. Swift wrote the "Drapier's Letters" to defeat the measure, and in the end succeeded. He became the most influential and popular man in Ireland.

25 27 **Lilliputian island**: the island in "Gulliver's Travels" (1727) where the people are dwarfs; the purpose of the satire being to suggest by their quarrels and wars, over which end of an egg to break and similar questions, the pettiness of mankind. Many of Swift's coined names and places have passed into synonyms for everyday experiences and ideas.

26 15 "**Modest Proposal**" (1729): "Written for Preventing the Children of Poor People in Ireland from being a Burden to their Parents or Country." In this pamphlet Swift proposed that children be made to serve

as articles of food. Thackeray's interpretation seems rather superficial and foolish. Apart from the fact that Swift had almost a weakness for children — which answers Thackeray's point — the thing to be observed here is that his love for humanity is what prompts the writing of the satire. He writes gravely his satirical proposal and sets methodically about his plan for carrying it out; and meantime the passion in his heart is that of shame for the oppression of the poor, for the "corruptions and villanies of men in power," and the wretchedness of the Irish masses. No man ever felt for the needy more than did Swift. "I never," said his friend Delany, "saw poor so carefully and conscientiously attended to in my life as those of his cathedral" (Quoted in the "Life" by Sir Leslie Stephen, p. 190).

27 10 **Almanach des Gourmands**: between 1803–1812 was published a book of that title ("Grimod de la Regnière, Paris") in eight volumes. It is very probable, however, that Thackeray is here inventing the phrase. Professor Regel cites in this connection Thackeray's "Memorials of Gormandizing" in *Frazer's*.

27 10 **On naît rôtisseur**: one is born a roaster; roasters are born, not made. The slang is, of course, still in use.

28 14 **Mr. Macaulay has quoted**: in the Essay on Addison: —

> "Jamque acies inter medias sese arduus infert
> Pygmeadum ductor, qui, majestate verendus,
> Incessu gravis, reliquos supereminet omnes
> Mole gigantea, mediamque exsurgit in ulnam."

28 17 **the mast of some great ammiral**: Milton's "Paradise Lost," I, 294–295.

32 11 **Delany**: Patrick (1685–1768), divine; called by Swift "the most eminent preacher we have." He published in 1754 a defense of Swift against Lord Orrery, whose edition of the epistles of Phalaris had led to the famous controversy with Bentley, and, in 1697, to the writing of Swift's "Battle of the Books."

32 12 **Archbishop King** (1650–1729): of Dublin. His career is described in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

34 26 **Champollion**: Jean François, 1790–1832, a great student of Oriental languages. From the Rosetta Stone he obtained the key to the hieroglyphics of Egypt. He was later professor of Egyptian Antiquities in the College of France.

37 1 **Harley**: Robert Harley, 1661–1724, created Earl of Oxford. He was Speaker of the House of Commons, Tory Prime Minister during the

closing years of Queen Anne's reign, a patron of letters, and a great collector of books.

37 1 **Peterborough**: Henry Mordaunt, 1658–1735, Earl of Peterborough, admiral, general, and diplomat, a friend of Gay, Swift, and Pope.

39 12 **Ariadne**: in the Greek story, when Theseus deserted Ariadne, she waited on the shore and mourned for him in vain.

> " tuetur
> indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores,
> necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit."

See Catullus' " Marriage of Peleus and Thetis," l. 51. The passage is very beautiful and worth looking up.

41 25 **Sheridan**: Thomas Sheridan, 1687–1738, was the master of a private school, and the grandfather of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the author of " The Rivals," etc. Swift made him promise that if he saw a fault growing on him he would tell him so. When he reminded Swift of a fault, Swift resented it, and a coolness sprang up. Swift did Sheridan many kind turns nevertheless.

41 25 **he slunk away . . . from Pope**: this is inexact. Pope and Swift, though they were separated, remained friends. In one of his letters, Swift mentions the fact that Pope's ill health hangs on his spirits.

41 (Note 1) **Hayward**: Abraham Hayward (1801–1884). : Essayist, author, translator of Goethe's " Faust." Famous in his day for his reviews and friends. He cultivated relationships with prominent people, and left a voluminous correspondence.

41 (Note 2) **M. Swift est Rabelais**: "Mr. Swift is Rabelais in his soberer mood and living in good company. He has not, it is true, the gayety of the first, but he has all the finesse, the reason, the choiceness, the good taste which are lacking in our good curé of Meudon. His verses are of a singular flavor, and almost inimitable; good pleasantry is his portion in verse and in prose; but to understand him well one must make a little journey into his country."

CONGREVE

The portrait of Congreve, though considerably accentuated to make it an effective lecture, is probably true to life in the main. It might be urged that Thackeray does not sufficiently take into account the fact that Congreve should be judged, to some extent at least, by the aims of his type of art, and that within that type Congreve is a good artist.

Bibliography. The " Life " by Edmund Gosse, " Great Writers " series, 1888.

43 1 **the Reform Bill** in 1832 disfranchised 41 boroughs and took away one member each from thirty others; transferring thereby the power to the middle classes in the towns. This meant the abolition of the old order by which men might be sent up to Parliament from places that had no inhabitants or importance, but had notwithstanding the right to members. "Cornwall was notorious for its rotten boroughs, many of which were already rotten when they were enfranchised. The names of several of these boroughs have become synonymous for electoral rottenness." Poritt, "The Unreformed House of Commons," Vol. I, p. 91.

43 12 **Pitt**, William (1708–1778): first earl of Chatham. "As an orator he must be ranked with the greatest of ancient or modern times; as a statesman and as a minister he possessed ability of a high order." "Dictionary of National Biography."

43 12 **Mirabeau**, Comte de (1749–1791): the greatest orator of the French Revolution.

43 18 **Old Sarum** had no inhabitants at all.

44 2 **Prince Eugene** (1663–1736): an expatriated Frenchman who became famous as an Austrian general. By the time he was twenty he had already shown great military talent. Louis XIV made him large offers to return to France, but in vain. He commanded the German Imperial army and shared with Marlborough the victory of Blenheim. He is ranked as one of the world's great military leaders.

44 7 **Busby's**: Richard Busby (1606–1695), headmaster of Westminster School. He was a stanch Royalist and favored in his later years by Charles II. Busby was famous as a severe pedagogue, a wielder of the rod. He had many eminent pupils, Dryden, Locke, Atterbury, numerous bishops, and others. See "Dictionary of National Biography."

44 10 **Tickell**, Thomas (1686–1740): a minor poet, best known to-day for his fine memorial poem on Addison. For the part he played in the celebrated estrangement of Pope and Addison, see the "Dictionary of National Biography."

44 10 **Dennis**, John (1657–1734): the best critic of his day and the author of numerous dramas. Pope satirized his bombastic style, and Dennis replied in his "Reflections Critical and Satirical." He was noted for his sharp temper and his quarrels.

45 6 **Accourez**, etc.: "hasten, chaste nymphs of Permessus. The trees are rejoiced with the sounds that spring from my lyre; mark well its cadence; and you, winds, be still! I shall speak of Louis!"

Thackeray was proud of his French accent, and in the lectures took several occasions to make use of it.

45 7 **Boileau** (1636–1711) : a famous French poet and critic whose critical theories were very influential throughout the classical period of French literature.

45 28 **Montague**, Charles Montagu (1661–1715) : first earl of Halifax, one of the founders of the Bank of England, and an influential Whig statesman. He was noted as a patron of letters.

46 6 **Ah, l'heureux temps**, etc. : 'how happy were the times of these fables!'

48 14 **Grub Street Timon** : John Dennis is compared to the Athenian Timon, who lived in the time of the Peloponnesian War. The ingratitude of his friends led him to become a hermit. See Shakespeare's play on the subject.

48 20 **Bracegirdle**, Anne (1660–1748) : an actress who played in Congreve's "Love for Love," and "The Mourning Bride," and many Shakespearean rôles. She is mentioned in "Henry Esmond," Book II, Chap. V.

48 (NOTE 2) **Thos. Davies** (1712?–1785) : after having acted at Drury Lane, became a bookseller and publisher, and later set himself up as patron and critic. He it was who arranged the dinner for Boswell and Johnson to meet. He engaged Goldsmith to write "The History of Rome," "History of England," and other works.

49 11 **Nell Gwynn** (1650–1687): an actress popular in comic parts, in prologues and epilogues. She was a mistress of Charles II.

49 14 **Jeremy Collier** (1650–1726) : nonjuror, lecturer, preacher, essayist. He was publicly outlawed but went unharmed; and was later ordained bishop of the nonjuring congregation. He wrote in 1698 his "Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage," which gave rise to an important controversy.

50 8 **Laïs** : a Corinthian courtesan, living in the latter part of the second century B.C.

51 9 **Sallust's house** : for details, see Mau's "Pompeii," translated by Kelsey, p. 283.

51 32 **cavalier seul** : gentlemen to the front.

52 23 **treillage** : a trellis or arbor.

52 27 **pas** : step.

53 16 **Segreto per esser felice** : the secret of happiness.

53 17 **Falernian** : one of the most famous of the classic wines, often referred to in the Latin lyrists.

53 30 **Mirabel** : a gallant in Congreve's "Way of the World," in love with Mrs. Millamant.

53 30 **Belmour** : the gallant who loves the affected Belinda in Congreve's "Old Bachelor."

53 31 **Scapin**: a rascally clown from the old Italian comedy, here intended for Scapin in Molière's "Les Fourberies de Scapin."

53 32 **Frontin**: a favorite comic character of the end of the seventeenth century; a descendant of Scapin and his kind. Frontin, rascally, clever, occurs in many comedies of the period. He is now almost forgotten.

54 15 **Millamant** and Lady Millamant, characters in Congreve's "Way of the World." Lady Millamant has the gay and whimsical theory that "cruelty is a proof of power."

54 17 **Doricourt**: in Mrs. Cowley's "The Belle's Stratagem."

58 6 **Grammont's French dandies**: Philibert, Comte de Grammont, (1621–1707). He was a courtier of the court of Louis XIV, and was famous for his intrigues and accomplishments. He is most interesting to us on account of his "Memoirs," written or dictated when he was eighty and edited by his brother-in-law, Anthony Hamilton. He was at one time in exile and lived at the court of Charles II; and his "Memoirs" furnish one of the most useful records of that day.

58 7 **Lerida**: during the Thirty Years' War Lerida was besieged off and on between 1643 and 1647. There were two Grammonts at the siege. For a clever account the student may read the beginning of Chap. VIII in the Memoirs of Count Grammont (Bohn), where the siege is said to have been undertaken to the playing of fiddles.

58 8 **Cease, cease to ask her name**: the second stanza from the poem "Written at Tunbridge Wells, on Miss Temple, afterwards Lady of Sir Thomas Lyttelton."

60 28 **Southerne**: Thomas Southerne (1660–1746), a dramatist, the author of "Orinooko" and other plays.

61 13 **Celui de tous les Anglais**, etc.: the man who of all the English has carried farthest the glory of the comic theater is the late Mr. Congreve. He wrote only a few pieces, but all are excellent in their kind. . . . You see there everywhere the language of honest men with the actions of rascals; which proves that he knew his world well, and that he lived in what we call good society.

ADDISON

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The "Life of Addison," by W. J. Courthope, "English Men of Letters" series, 1884. "Life" by Lucy Aikin, 1843. Macaulay's essay is pleasant reading.

62 34 **Shadwell**, Thomas (1640–1692): poet-laureate. Dryden ridicules him in "MacFlecknoe" and elsewhere.

62 35 **Higgons**, Bevil (1670–1735) : a poet and playwright all but forgotten to-day.

63 10 Thackeray here makes a hero out of Addison, bringing out all his excellent traits and heightening them. The portrait is idealized, and obviously misleading in some respects, as for instance his picture of Addison as a grand and lonely dweller on the heights. It is the keynote to all Addison's circle of wits that they were at home in this world and contented with the good the gods provide.

64 17 **Goethe or Scott** : for their treatment of beginners, one might look up the letter in Lockhart's " Life of Scott," Vol. III, p. 107 ; and page 399 in G. H. Lewes' abridged " Life of Goethe." In Merivale and Marzials' " Life of Thackeray," see the letter to Aytoun (p. 137). " Do you remember how complimentary Scott and Goethe were? "

64 28 **Pinkethman**, William (fl. 1725) : an actor who rose by pleasing the groundlings. He attained finally to some repute. He is discussed in *Spectator*, No. 370.

64 29 **Doggett**, Thomas (d. 1721) : an actor. He acted in Congreve's " Love for Love " and other plays. His style was praised as " dignified." He is mentioned in the *Spectator*, No. 502.

64 30 **Don Saltero** : a barber and keeper of a coffee-house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. He played the fiddle in a distressing fashion, related in the *Tatler*, No. 34.

65 (Note 5) **Lady Wortley Montagu** (1689–1762) : author of the famous " Letters." She was from time to time the friend of many famous persons, among them Pope. She introduced from Turkey the practice of inoculation for smallpox.

65 (Note 7) **Mandeville** : Bernard Mandeville (1670–1735). Known for his wit and advocacy of dram drinking. His " Fable of the Bees," which maintained the essential vileness of human nature, was widely contested. See the " Dictionary of National Biography." Johnson naturally does not consider him a man to judge Addison wisely.

65 (Note 8) **Old Jacob Tonson** (1656–1736): publisher. He purchased the copyright of " Paradise Lost," and published much of the work of Dryden, Addison, Pope, and others.

66 11 **Lyæus** : care-dispeller. A Greek name applied to Dionysos, but meaning here the wine, as Gray says *Ceres' golden reign* for the wheat.

68 2 **Mr. Macaulay is bound to own** : " He found that wine broke the spell which lay on his fine intellect, and was therefore too easily seduced into convivial excess." Essay on Addison.

68 11 **Bathurst**, Ralph (1620–1704): the president of Trinity College and Vice-Chancellor of the university. He was a writer of essays and verse.

70 1 **Statius** (61–96 A.D.) : the chief of the heroic poets of the Silver Age. His greatest work was the " Thebaid."

70 8 **Boyle**, Lord Carleton (d. 1725) : chancellor of the exchequer, lord treasurer of Ireland, principal secretary of state. For another account of this visit, see " Henry Esmond," Book II, Chap. XI.

70 11 **Godolphin**, Sidney (1645–1712) : a lord of the treasury in 1679, one of the last adherents of James II, but later Marlborough's confidential ally (1702–1710) and a prime minister of no great merit save as a financier.

71 5 **Mr. Locke** : the philosopher, John Locke, born, 1632, died, 1704.

71 7 **angel visits:**

> " The good he scorned,
> Stalked off reluctant like an ill-us'd ghost,
> Not to return ; — or if it did, its visits,
> Like those of angels, short and far between."
> — " The Grave," Blair, ll. 589–592.

72 13 **Swift has left a description** : " I was this morning at ten at the rehearsal of Mr. Addison's play, called " Cato," which is to be acted on Friday. There were not half a score of us to see it. We stood on the stage, and it was foolish enough to see the actors prompted every moment, and the poet directing them, and the drab that acts Cato's daughter (Mrs. Oldfield) out in the midst of a passionate part, and then calling out, ' What's next ? ' "

No description by Swift of the first night of " Cato " has been found. Pope left a record of it in his letters to Trumbull, April 30, 1713.

73 2 **Divus** : a god.

75 1 **a literary Jeffreys** (1648–1689) : George, first Baron Jeffreys and lord chief justice under Charles II and James II. Jeffreys is said to have displayed great ability in civil cases, but as a criminal judge he became widely known for his brutality. Swift is here called a literary Jeffreys.

76 1 **Breaking Priscian's head** : Priscian was a famous grammarian, 500 A.D. To violate the rules of grammar was to break Priscian's head. *Diminuere Prisciani caput.* (Brewer's " Dictionary of Phrase and Fable.")

79 13 **à propos de bottes sans motif** : speaking of casks — or boots — as we say " speaking of the weather " when we change the subject suddenly.

80 1 **Madam Doll Tearsheet** : a low woman in Shakespeare's " Henry IV," Part II, Act II, sc. 4.

81 7 **It seems to me** : note the beautiful harmony of the style of this paragraph with the character that is the subject of it.

STEELE

In this essay Thackeray has, as did Macaulay, overaccented Steele's most striking traits; and, while the result is effective as a sketch, rich in contrasts and whimsicalities, and full of life, it is at Steele's cost, and unfair to him as a man. It tends to demand of the reader more leniency than admiration.

The worst of Steele's faults seem to have been on the surface; little vanities and inconsistencies like those of Goldsmith, and a variable weakness for drink. It seems, however, that it was not that he drank more than the other wits of his day, but that he was more easily overthrown. Steele's general intentions were more admirable than were those of most of his contemporaries. He was honest in his politics; devoted and loyal to his friends and family; and, though he was like his friends in that he fell from time to time, he differed from them, perhaps, in that his aspirations were serious and intense. Steele was a warm man in a cold age. "Had Swift only gathered from his early friendship with Steele a little sweetness," says Professor Carpenter, "had Pope gained from him a little manliness, and Addison himself more warmth of affection the literature of the age would have shown the brighter."

Finally we should remember that a large part of the charges against Steele come from the opponents that his stanch and outspoken politics aroused.

Bibliography. The best biography is by George A. Aitken, 1889. The late Professor G. R. Carpenter has a brief and excellent discussion in his "Selections from Steele" in the Athenæum Press series. There is also a delightful life by Mr. Austin Dobson in the "English Worthies" series.

82 1 **What do we look for in studying the history**: observe the connection between the opening remarks of this lecture and the method of treatment in the "Humorists."

82 20 **Swift's history of the times**: Swift's "History of the Last Four Years of Queen Anne" appeared posthumously. It is, as might be expected, violently prejudiced.

82 24 **Walpole**, Robert (1676–1745): the most important English political leader during the first half of the eighteenth century, first earl of Orford, and Whig prime minister. See the "Dictionary of National Biography."

82 27 **Marlborough's life by a copious archdeacon**: William Coxe (1747–1828), archdeacon of Wilton, wrote, among other memoirs, those of Marlborough, in 3 volumes, 1818–1819.

83 10 **the real Churchill** : the family name is used as carrying out the point of *real*.

83 13 **Mnemosyne** : the goddess of memory, daughter of Heaven and Earth, and by Zeus the mother of the Muses.

83 18 **Turpin**, Richard : the subject of sensational romances, was caught and hanged for horse stealing, at York, in 1739.

83 22 **take the side of the Dons** : Dons is used in British university slang for tutors or college officials in general, and suggests decorum and gravity, respectability and rule.

84 14 **Will Wimble** : " Will Wimble is the younger brother to a baronet and descended of the ancient family of the Wimbles. He is now between forty and fifty, but, being bred to no business and born to no estate, he generally lives with his elder brother as superintendent of his game. . . . He is extremely well versed in all the little handicrafts of an idle man." *Spectator Papers*, No. 108.

84 31 **Ramillies and Malplaquet** : the battle of Ramillies at the village of that name in the province of Brabant, Belgium, May 23, 1706. The allies under the Duke of Marlborough defeated the French and Bavarian forces under Villerai. Malplaquet, in the Department of Nord, France, near the Belgian frontier, where, on Sept. 11, 1705, the English, Dutch, and Austrian forces defeated the French.

85 21 **coram latronibus** : in company with thieves.

86 23 **Lord Mohun**, Charles (1675–1712) : was celebrated as a duellist and a fast liver generally. He appears in Thackeray's " Henry Esmond " (Chaps. XII, XIII, and XIV, Book I, and V in Book III), where this tavern scene is done with great brevity and power.

89 25 **Miss Porter**, Jane (1776–1850) : the author of " Thaddeus of Warsaw " and " The Scottish Chiefs." — **Anne of Swansea** : Anne Hatton, a sister of Mrs. Siddons. She published eleven novels during the years 1815–1831. The title of one of her stories is a sample of all — " Cesario Rosalba, or, the Oath of Vengeance," 1819. Phelps, p. 312. Note that she followed Scott instead of preceding.

89 26 **Mrs. Radcliffe**, Ann (1764–1823) : founded the Gothic School of romances, stories that abounded in the use of terror and the seemingly supernatural which turns out to be easily explained on rational grounds. This school has a connection through Charles Brockden Brown with Poe and Hawthorne. See Trent's " History of American Literature," p. 61. Thackeray here uses all three of the novelists to typify the sentimental romance as opposed to Scott's brevity and sanity.

89 30 **Mrs. Manley** (Mary de la Rivière) (1663–1724) : author of " The New Atalantis," was notorious for her scandalous writings and for

her life. She was at one time arrested for slander but escaped punishment.

89 31 **Tom Durfey** (Thomas D'Urfey) (1653–1723): was a poet and dramatist, the author of numerous plays and many songs. His songs abound in gay good humor and indecency.

89 31 **Tom Brown** (1663–1704): the author of numerous satirical writings of a coarse nature.

89 32 **Ned Ward** (1667–1731): a humorist who at one time kept a tavern in London. He was the author of poems of a burlesque and obscene order.

89 34 **ordinaries**: places where regular *table d'hote* meals are served, as contrasted with restaurants of a more expensive type where the cooking is to order.

91 30 **humanities**: polite learning in general, literary culture (The Century Dictionary). It applies especially to the Renaissance revival of learning, the intelligent study and æsthetic appreciation of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew that was introduced by Petrarch into Italy and spread throughout Europe.

96 9 **Garraway's**: a coffee-house in Exchange Alley, now pulled down. Here, in 1637, tea is said to have been sold for prices ranging from £16 to £50 to the pound. Students interested in such matters will find a pleasing account of Garraway's in "Clubs and Club Life in London," by John Timbs (1886).

106 (NOTE) **Jonson**: should be Tonson (noted by Professor Regel). See note to p. 65, Note 8. For the original spelling, see the letter in Aitken's "Life," Vol. I, p. 204.

107 18 **when, immediately after his marriage**, etc: no infidelity should be understood here; whatever his weaknesses beforehand, Steele was never accused of infidelity after his marriage.

109 6 **Addison sold the house**: Steele, it is said, borrowed £100 (some put it at £1000) of Addison, giving bond and judgment for the repayment of the money at the end of twelve months. "On the forfeiture of the bond Addison's attorney proceeded to execution, the house and furniture being sold, and the surplus sent to Steele with a 'genteel' letter, stating the friendly reasons of this extraordinary proceeding; viz. to awaken him if possible from a lethargy that must end in his inevitable ruin." Steele is said to have received it as he believed it was meant by his friend, to do him service. The whole story is denied by some authorities. See Aitken's "Life," Vol. I, p. 342.

109 31 **Doctor Hoadly** (John Hoadly), (1711–1776), son of Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, a famous champion of liberal views in matters of Church and

State. He was a poet and dramatist, and the friend of Garrick and Hogarth. "The passage quoted by Thackeray may be found in John Nichols' "Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele," London, 1809, II, 508, note, where it is given as 'extracted from a letter written by Dr. John Hoadly'" (Phelps).

110 24 **Mr. Joseph Miller** (1684–1738): known as Joe Miller, the actor and humorist. John Mottley published in 1739 a collection "unwarrantably entitled 'Joe Miller's Jest Book.'" Cf. the "Dictionary of National Biography."

113 8 **Amazed, confused, its fate unknown**: from "The Day of Judgment," found among Swift's papers after his death, and first printed in a letter from Lord Chesterfield to Voltaire, Aug. 27, 1752.

117 14 **Barmecide's**: the Barmecide prince in the "Arabian Nights" set an imaginary feast before a beggar, and urged him to eat.

119 30 **beignets d'abricot**: apricot fritters. — **du monde** in polite society.

121 (Note 4) **Cibber**, Colley (1671–1757): an actor, a playwright, and a good dramatic critic. He became poet-laureate in 1730. His best-known writing is the "Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, Comedian," 1740. Pope made him, in 1742, the hero of the new edition of the "Dunciad." It would appear that Pope began the trouble by ridiculing Cibber, and finally drove him into retaliation. For a picturesque account of the quarrel and of the incident referred to by Thackeray, see *Pope* in Johnson's "Lives."

PRIOR

Observe the admirable and charming way in which Thackeray enters into the appreciation of Prior's quality.

Bibliography. Prior in Johnson's "Lives." G. A. Aitken, in *Contemporary Review*, May, 1890.

123 (Note 3) **Remarks on the Characters of the Court of Queen Anne**: the source of this observation is a book by John Macky (d. 1726), a Scotchman, who served as an agent and spy for the government. He wrote "Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq., during the Reign of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. Including also the true Secret History of the Rise, Promotion, etc., of the English and Scots Nobility; Officers, Civil, Military, Naval, and other Persons of distinction from the Revolution. In their respective Characters at large," etc. (1733).

124 8 **Batavian**: from the name of the early German tribe which first inhabited the Insula Batavorum. Holland, and later the entire Netherlands, was called Batavia.

124 9 **Busby of the Rod**: see note to **44** 7.

124 12 **Montague**: it is doubtful whether Montagu (later Lord Halifax, see **45** 28) gave much more than his name to the work on "The Town and Country Mouse."

124 26 **Alcaics**: a classical meter very difficult to reproduce in English. The form may be found in any treatment of prosody. It takes its name from Alcæus, a Greek poet of about 600 B.C. Thackeray probably uses it here for any delicate lyrical stanza.

125 24 **Stator Jove**: Jove the Stayer.

126 14 **Spence**, Joseph (1699–1768): the friend of Pope and the author of a book of literary anecdotes, the source of much later biographical information. There is a delightful essay on Spence in Mr. Austin Dobson's "Eighteenth Century Vignettes," first series.

127 6 **Halifax**, Charles Montagu (1661–1715): first Earl of, see **124** 12, **45** 28.

127 9 **So whilst in fevered dreams**: these verses are taken not from the poem as first printed, but from the variations in a copy printed in 1692. Thackeray has changed the poem considerably. His first stanza is Prior's third, his second is Prior's first. He has also changed the order of the lines from *abab* to *abba*, and altered the wording somewhat. See the Aldine Edition of Prior, Vol. I, p. 46.

127 17 **Would not you fancy that a poet of our own days?** an idle question after Thackeray has altered Prior's verses to the scheme of Tennyson's "In Memoriam."

128 3 **The God of us versemen**: the closing stanzas of "A Better Answer."

128 19 **She sighed, she smiled**: the closing stanzas of "The Garland."

129 2 **Deus sit**, etc.: God be merciful to this drinker. Walter de Mapes (fl. 1200) was a medieval wit and the author of a collection of anecdotes and legends. He has been regarded by many as the author of a part of the "Lancelot." Mapes is famous for the drinking song:—

> "Meum est propositum in taberna mori,
> Vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
> Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
> Deus sit propitius huic potatori."

This song is probably his, though the point is unsettled.

129 3 **Johnson, who spoke slightingly**: "Mrs. Thrale disputed with him on the merits of Prior. He attacked him powerfully; said he wrote of love like a man who had never felt it: his love verses were college verses;" . . . Mrs. Thrale holding to her point, he said: "My dear

lady, talk no more of this. Nonsense can be defended but by nonsense." Boswell, ed. Hill, Vol. II, 89–90.

129 28 **Colbert de Torcy** (1665–1746): French diplomat; at one time minister to England; minister of State in France.

GAY

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Austin Dobson in Ward's "Poets," 1880. Gay, in Johnson's "Lives." The article by Austin Dobson in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

130 (NOTE) **He said he would write to Robin and Harry**: Harley and Bolingbroke.

131 8 **Craggs**, James (1686–1721): the younger, secretary of state. He was implicated in the scandal connected with the South Sea Bubble.

132 17 **Duchess of Queensberry**: see Mr. Austin Dobson's "Prior's Kitty" in the "Eighteenth Century Vignettes," first series. She was the subject of Prior's poem "The Female Phaëton."

136 4 **Gay's "Fables"**: the first series of Gay's "Fables" was dedicated to William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, third son of George II. The Duke of Cumberland commanded the second army, against Prince Charles Edward, 1745; commanded the first army and defeated the rebels at Culloden, 1746.

136 27 **Philips**, Ambrose (1675–1749): he was a member of Addison's circle. On account of his pastorals he was bitterly attacked in Pope's satires, Pope not relishing another's success in fields in which he himself desired to excel.

137 8 **Arbuthnot**, John (1667–1735): physician in ordinary to Queen Anne, the attractive friend of most of the great literary men of the day, a wit and author of satires of considerable merit.

137 13 **Rubini**, Giovanni Batista (1795–1854): a very celebrated Italian tenor. It was said of him that he had tears in his voice.

138 1 **its wearisome continuation**, Polly: this sequel to the "Beggar's Opera," was on account of its political satire prohibited from being acted, but had a large sale when it was published.

139 9 **Harcourt**, Simon (1661?–1727): First Viscount, was lord chancellor under Queen Anne, and noted for his eloquence. He was the friend of Bolingbroke, Pope, and other famous men.

POPE

Latter-day investigation has proved Thackeray's estimate of Pope, as a man, to be wholly partial. Pope had not only his share of the sharp and malignant spirit of his age, the age of satire, but was in addition

morbidly sensitive and morbidly retaliative. Where he fancied he discerned a blow, he struck back and struck hard. His other faults are along the lines of scheming and double dealing, vanity and pettiness. All the faults are interwoven with his pitiful sickness and disease. What we admire in him is his pluck, his independence of spirit, his high sense of friendship, his filial devotion, and his instinctive tenderness where no worse mood was roused in his morbidly sensitive breast. Though neither his vanity nor his self-respect would receive pity, nor the sharp point of his satire show a need of it, he calls for pity far oftener than for blame. He easily remains, when all is said, the leading poet of his day, a man of great energy and reading, the most quoted English poet since Shakespeare, and one of our great masters of sheer technique.

It is interesting to compare Thackeray, Johnson, and Taine, in their respective treatments of Pope's physical infirmities. Taine regards Pope's malady as the distasteful source of his weakness as a writer, Johnson as the subject for more or less indelicate detail; Thackeray as a claim on our pity and admiration for such accomplishments against such odds.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The introduction and notes by Elwin and Courthope, in the Murray edition of Pope, 1871–1889. The "Life" by Sir Leslie Stephen, "English Men of Letters" series. Pope, in Johnson's "Lives."

141 4 **greatest literary artist**: if this conclusion is to hold, one must take Thackeray to use the word "art" here in the continental sense, of sheer technique more or less independent of the matter. Thackeray probably means the remark to apply in every way, an opinion that will scarcely hold, though it indicates his own enthusiasm for the eighteenth century — and his ignorance of Milton!

142 7 **In his youthful poem of "Alcander"**: written when Pope was between thirteen and fourteen years old. By the advice of friends it was burned. Two of the couplets are preserved: —

> "As man's meanders to the vital spring
> Roll all their tides, then back their circles bring."
> "The Dunciad," III, ll. 55–56.

> "Whose honours with increase of ages grow,
> As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow."
> An Essay on Criticism, ll. 191–192. See Courthope, Vol. V, p. 157.

142 19 **Ariosto** (1474–1533): an Italian epic poet, author of "Orlando Furioso," a richly colored romance that is calculated to delight the young heart.

142 20 **battling with the Cid for the love of Chimène**: the Cid is the hero of the Spanish ballad romance. Thackeray here probably refers to Corneille's "Le Cid," where Chimène is the maiden whom the Cid loves and after many trials wins.

142 21 **Armida's garden**: in Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," Armida is the sorceress who seduces Rinaldo from the siege of Jerusalem.

143 7 **Mr. Curll**: Edmund Curll (1675–1747), a bookseller and publisher; he was concerned in many doubtful affairs, and was accused with seeming justice of publishing immoral books, of forgeries, and other underhand actions. Pope held him up to ridicule in the "Dunciad."

143 27 **à deux fins**: looking in two directions, serving two ends.

143 29 **réchauffé**: warmed over.

144 24 **Oppian**: a Greek didactic poet of the second century B.C.

145 1 **apprêté**: prepared beforehand, cooked up.

146 22 **Sir Richard**: Sir Richard Blackmore, the physician-poet, author of tedious poems now forgotten, and the butt of the critics and wits of his day; not Richard Steele (noted by Professor Regel).

146 (NOTE) **Oldisworth**, William (1680–1734): author and translator. He edited the Tory *Examiner*, translated Horace, etc. See the "Dictionary of National Biography."

146 (NOTE) **Creech**: Thomas Creech (1654–1700), translator of Lucretius, Horace, Theocritus, Juvenal, etc. A disappointed love and pecuniary troubles caused him to commit suicide.

147 3 **cachet**: the seal, stamp, password.

149 14 **White's**: White's Club was established as White's Chocolate-house in 1698, in St. James Street. *The Tatler* states in the first number that "all accounts of gallantry, pleasure, and entertainment, shall be under the article of White's Chocolate-house." The Club became fashionable and subsequently notorious for its gambling. Swift censures it, and Hogarth put it into his pictures.

149 14 **The "Patriot King"**: by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, (1678–1751). Cf. p. **146** 2, and p. **148** 6. The Earl of Peterborough took Barcelona in 1705. Of all these men Thackeray means to say that their many-sidedness and versatility of interest was a part of their greatness.

152 2 **Budgell**, Eustace (1686–1737): a miscellaneous writer and journalist, a cousin of Addison's, and at one time his roommate. He was ruined in the South Sea Bubble and finally drowned himself.

152 2 **Tickell**: see **44** 10.

152 2 **Philips**: see **136** 27.

152 2 **Carey**, Henry (d. 1743): the author of numerous farces and songs. His best-known piece is the popular "Sally in our Alley."

152 3 **Duroc**: Gerard Christopher Michel, Duke of Friuli, French general and diplomat and a favorite of Napoleon's, by whose side he fell fighting, in the campaign of 1807.

152 4 **Hardy**, Sir Thomas Masterman (1769–1839): Nelson's flag-captain on the *Vanguard* and the *Foudroyant*. For a noble account of the part he played at Nelson's death, see Southey's "Life of Nelson," pp. 299–302.

152 9 **spadille and manille**: in the old games of ombre and quadrille spadille was the ace of spades, manille the highest card but one.

152 17 **Wycherley**, William (1640–1716): the dramatist, author of "The Country Wife," "The Plain Dealer," etc. He is like Congreve in many respects. Recent investigation has shown that Pope altered the letters so as to produce a false impression. See, for instance, "Spence's Anecdotes" in Austin Dobson's "Eighteenth Century Vignettes," first series.

153 6 **triumph of "Cato"**: Addison's "Cato," though not especially dramatic, won a great success because of its relation to the political issues of the day. The Whigs and Tories vied with each other in applause, and the play had a run — enormous then — of 35 nights. See Courthope's "Addison" in the "English Men of Letters" series, Chap. VI.

154 27 **Bernadotte** (1764–1844): a celebrated marshal of Napoleon's, who, after having fought by the latter's side, was chosen by the Swedish diet as Crown Prince and successor of King Charles XIII. He headed the Northern troops against Napoleon in 1813, thus becoming an enemy. Pope is compared to him.

156 1 **And were there one whose fires**: the punctuation here is changed somewhat from the original. *And* in l. 11 should be *but; as* in l. 13 should be *or; even* in l. 15, *e'en*.

156 23 **"I sent the verses to Mr. Addison"**: Pope is quoted by Dr. Johnson as saying that he "adjoined the first sketch" of the lines.

156 33 **Saint Sebastian**: a Christian martyr under Diocletian, whose soldiers shot Sebastian full of arrows and left him for dead. He recovered, appeared before the emperor with a profession of faith, and was put to death.

157 5 **viveurs**: high livers.

158 2 **Thomson**, James (1700–1748): the famous poet of nature; author of the "Seasons" and "The Castle of Indolence."

158 14 **Atterbury**, Francis (1662–1732): Bishop of Rochester, chaplain to William and Mary, and chaplain in ordinary to Queen Anne. He died a political exile in Paris. Atterbury was intimate with the literary men of his day and his correspondence is full of information concerning them and their affairs.

158 24 **Garth:** died in 1719 instead of 1718 as stated in the notes.

159 2 **Codrington**, Sir Edward (1668–1710): he was known as a soldier, governor of the Leeward Islands, and the benefactor of All Souls, Oxford.

160 9 **Jervas**, Charles (1675?–1739): portrait painter, a pupil of Kneller's. He was also the author of a translation of "Don Quixote."

160 9 **Richardson**, Jonathan (1665–1745): the elder. He succeeded Kneller as the fashionable portrait painter. He painted Pope, Prior, and Steele. He was the author of poems and other writings, among them treatises on painting.

160 13 **Kneller**, Sir Godfrey (1646–1723): the fashionable portrait painter of his day. Among his sitters were Charles II, Louis XIV, William III, Queen Anne, and George I.

164 9 **the famous Greek picture**: "The Sacrifice of Iphigenia." In it Timanthes, a Greek artist, 400 B.C., is said to have painted grief on the faces of all but Agamemnon the father, whose face was left veiled.

165 18 **Cibber**: see note for **121**, Note 4.

166 5 **Tibbald**: Lewis Theobald, 1688–1744; famous as a Shakespearean editor, in which capacity he is one of the foremost. He won Pope's enmity by his "Shakespeare restored, or a Specimen of the Many Errors as well committed as unamended by Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet." Pope in return made him the hero of the "Dunciad"; but in his second edition of the Shakespeare did not scruple to make use, unacknowledged, of Theobald's suggestions. In revenge Theobald published his edition of Shakespeare, which put Pope's editing to shame. Thackeray's spelling shows the pronunciation of the name.

166 5 **Welsted**, Leonard (1688–1747): the author of poems, occasional, political, personal, didactic, and satirical.

166 19 **Petty France**: an old street, now New Broad Street, near Bishopsgate. It took its name from the Frenchmen dwelling there.

166 21 **Budge Row**: Budge is the name of lambskin with the fur side turned out. Budge Row, near Watling Street, was so called because of the merchants who traded there in lambskin.

167 26 **She comes, she comes!** the concluding lines of the "Dunciad."

168 Between ll. 8 and 9, Thackeray has omitted four lines. The punctuation is altered from the original; and in l. 3, *fell* should be written *felt*.

169 12 **hero:** the pupil must be once more warned, as he takes leave of this admirably written tribute, that Thackeray's estimate of Pope is far too high. It rests on deficiency of critical knowledge and judgment and upon only partial acquaintance with the details of Pope's biography.

HOGARTH

Observe that while Hogarth is not a writer, Thackeray's consideration of his works is almost entirely literary. The literary criticism of art is concerned with the meaning and the story involved, rather than with the execution and artistic quality; this type of art criticism is all too common in English. In the case of Hogarth, however, whose pictures are narrative as a rule rather than picturesque, and who is more admirable as an interpreter of the life of his time than as an artist, the literary treatment is more justifiable. Indeed, it would seem that Hogarth himself often regarded himself as a story-teller.

Bibliography. The study by Austin Dobson in the "Great Artists" series, 1879. The article by Austin Dobson in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

170 15 **Jonathan Wild** (1682?–1725): an informer, who became the head of a large corporation of thieves, and opened offices for the recovery and restoration of property stolen by his dependents. He became famous as a thief taker, but was ultimately hanged for receiving rewards for restoring the property stolen, as told above. Fielding based on his life a famous satirical novel.

171 3 **Goody Two-Shoes**: this story is claimed by some editors to have been written by Goldsmith about 1764.

172 14 **Jack Sheppard** (1702–1724): a robber famous for his escapes. He was finally hanged at Tyburn before an immense crowd. His life and wonderful exploits became the subject of ballads, plays, and memoirs, in some of which, as also in the case of Wild, Defoe had a hand.

172 21 **Draco**: a celebrated lawgiver, seventh century B.C. Plutarch mentions the harshness of Draco's laws, nearly all crimes being punishable with death. His name became a synonym for harshness. Modern scholarship has declared this unjust; that the most that can be said against Draco is that he carried out the laws as he found them.

173 10 **baldaquin**: the word "baldachin" usually refers to an altar canopy. A certain effect is gotten here by using the word in connection with so grand a personage.

174 2 **Andromeda**: in the myth, was freed from her chains and escaped the sea monster through the heroism of Perseus, who afterward married her.

174 3 **Judith**: a beautiful woman of Bethulia, in order to save her country, went out into the camp of Holofernes, captain of the besieging hosts, gained access to his tent by offering herself as his mistress, and

finally slew him. The story is finely told in the Apocrypha. Thackeray explains the significance of the pictures.

175 10 **Whittington**, Sir Richard (d. 1423): rose from lowly origin to be lord mayor. His career gave rise to many ballads and legends, as, for instance, "London's Glory and Whittingdon's Renown, or a looking-glass for the citizens of London." See the "Dictionary of National Biography" for the story of the famous cat. The ballad is on the wall in the first plate of "Industry and Idleness." "London 'Prentice" is also on the wall in the first plate, hanging beside the "Mayor of Whittindon," in Frank's corner.

175 12 "**Moll Flanders**": by Daniel Defoe (1659?–1731), a famous story of low life, full of coarse realism. It is nailed to the post in Tom Idle's corner, near a big tankard of beer.

176 28 **apotheosis**: the elevation of a hero into a god. Note the delicate satire in Thackeray's use of the word.

177 5 **Squire Western**: the burly father of Sophia in Fielding's "Tom Jones."

177 31 **Bridewell**: formerly a palace, given to the city by Edward VI as a workhouse or house of correction, removed in 1864.

178 8 **Johnny Cope** (d. 1760): commanded the forces in Scotland during the rebellion in 1745. When rumors came to him of Prince Charles's arrival, Cope marched to check the prince's progress. Prince Charles made an attack by night, and Cope's troops were utterly routed. The Scots had a song "Hey, Jonnie Cope! are ye waulkin yet?" An investigation later exonerated Cope and his officers and put the blame on his private men.

178 9 **Culloden**: see **136** 4.

178 10 **Parson Adams**: a character in Fielding's "Joseph Andrews."

178 19 **Humphrey Clinker**: the poor lad who turns out to be the son of his employer. Smollett's "Expedition of Humphrey Clinker."

178 22 **Jack Hatchway**: a retired naval officer in Smollett's "Peregrine Pickle."

178 23 **Lismahago, Captain**: a Scotch officer on half pay, eccentric, pedantic, and disputatious, in "Humphrey Clinker."

178 30 **Cockpit**: in Hogarth's drawing the gamblers are leaning around the platform and two very sorry birds are charily eyeing each other.

178 31: **Macheath and Polly**: see **8** 7 and **138** 1.

179 4 **Roderick Random**: Smollett's hero of the novel of that name. Observe how in all of these allusions Thackeray connects the life of the time as expressed in the writers, Fielding, Gay, Smollett, and others, with the life of the time as we see it expressed in Hogarth the painter. He

enforces thereby a delicate insistence on Hogarth's claim to appear in the series of humorists.

179 5 **Monsieur de Strap**: a devoted follower of Roderick Random. He was poorly rewarded by his idol.

179 9 **Broughton the boxer** (1705–1789): the father of English pugilism. He became a favorite of society, even of royalty, for the Duke of Cumberland gave him a place among the Yeomen of the Guard, and backed him with £10,000 in his fight with Slack in 1750. Broughton was beaten, retired from the ring, and set up a school for lessons and exhibitions.

179 9 **Sarah Malcolm** (1710–1733): a charwoman of the Temple, London. She murdered her employer and two servants, and was executed at the age of 23.

179 10 **Simon Lovat**, Lord (1667–1745): (not the Master of Lovat, as stated by Professor Phelps). Lord Lovat was one of the Scottish chieftains of the old style and an adherent of the Stuarts. He was outlawed, but was persuaded by his clan to return. For his own profit he transferred his clan's forces from the insurgents' to the government's side. In the rebellion of 1745 he attempted to play a double game by putting his son on the side of the Stuarts and remaining himself loyal to the government. He was declared a traitor and beheaded. Hogarth's portrait of him represents him in the act of counting over on his fingers the rebel forces.

179 10 **John Wilkes** (1727–1797): a noted demagogue. He was the sheriff of London, Lord Mayor, and the object of numerous libel suits. He was repeatedly elected to Parliament, but as often rejected, until in 1774 he took his seat without opposition and kept it until his retirement in 1790.

182 (Note) **Churchill**, Charles (1731–1764): curate of St. Johns, Westminster, and author of numerous satirical poems. He was a partisan of Wilkes and the most powerful satirist between Pope and Byron.

183 5 **bourgeois**: middle class, implying middle-class prejudices and ideals. Used very aptly here.

183 9 **Correggio** (1494–1534): one of the greatest of the later Renaissance painters in Italy, noted for the mellow warmth of his style.

183 10 **the Caracci**, Agostino (1558–1602), Annibale (1560–1609); brothers, with their cousin Ludovico (1555–1619), of Bologna. They founded the eclectic school of painting, the theory that great art may be produced by combined imitation of the selected excellence from each of the great masters.

183 13 **Correggio's "Sigismunda"** according to Brewer's "The Reader's Handbook," the spelling should be Sigismonda, as indeed it is in some of the old prints of the picture. The catalogue of the National Gallery

(Mr. Austin Dobson, "Eighteenth Century Vignettes," first series, p. 109) spells the name as Thackeray does. Sigismonda was the daughter of Tancred, king of Salerno. She loved her father's squire, Guiscardo, and secretly married him. By her father's order Guiscardo was killed and his heart sent to Sigismonda in a golden casket. She poisoned herself, asking her father in her dying moments to bury her in the same grave with Guiscardo. Dryden and Boccaccio have treated the theme. Sigismunda seems to be another story. (See Brewer.) There is no Sigismunda by Correggio, but in Hogarth's time a picture by Furini was brought to England and palmed off as a Correggio. Sigismonda furnishes an imaginative and dramatic motive obviously unsuited to Hogarth. The picture roused a great deal of satirical criticism which was due partly to political prejudice. Among the critics were Walpole and Wilkes. Hogarth was very sensitive in the matter, defended his masterpiece as he thought it, kept it by him, and in his last requests, instructed his wife not to sell it for less than £500. After her death it was bought in for £54. (See Mr. Dobson's charming essay mentioned above.)

184 15 **Liston**, John (1776–1846): a well-known comic actor; among his rôles were Polonius, Bottom, and Sir Andrew Aguecheek.

184 21 **Churchill**: see note to **182**, Note.

186 18 **hopscotch**: "a children's game in which the player, while hopping on one leg, drives a disk of stone or a fragment of tile with the foot from one compartment to another of an oblong figure traced or scotched (scored) on the ground, neither the foot nor the stone being allowed to rest on a line." Century Dictionary.

191 2 **cadets**: used in the sense of a younger son or younger brother.

SMOLLETT

BIBLIOGRAPHY. "Life of Smollett," by David Hannay, in "Great Writers" series. Thomas Seccombe in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Professor Minto in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

194 8 **Doctor Caius**: in Shakespeare's "Merry Wives of Windsor."

194 10 **Major Dalgetty**: a soldier of fortune and pedant combined, something like Don Quixote. In Scott's "Legend of Montrose."

194 18 **Bladud**: the father of King Lear. He "built Bath and dedicated to Minerva the medicinal spring which is called Bladud's Well." Brewer, "The Reader's Handbook."

FIELDING

Fielding was Thackeray's acknowledged master in some respects; and what makes this discussion so attractive is the hearty manliness and health in the appreciation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The study by Mr. Austin Dobson in "The English Men of Letters" series. Article by Sir Leslie Stephen in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

196 27 **Oldfield**, Nance (1683–1730): a popular actress at Drury Lane and the Haymarket. She was good in both comedy and tragedy, and was praised by Steele, Cibber, Walpole, and others. She was a rival of Mrs. Bracegirdle, whom finally she surpassed and drove into retirement. She is buried in Westminster Abbey, beneath Congreve's monument.

196 27 **Bracegirdle**, Anne: see **48** 20.

198 22 **"Pamela"** (1740): the first of Richardson's novels. It was the story of a virtuous serving maid who comes through all temptations to a happy and virtuous end. The whole book was filled with moralizings and sentimentality. The student should not be led by the text to underestimate the merits of Richardson's work.

199 8 **Mohock**: the Mohocks were an organization named after a tribe of American savages and formed for rioting and violence. They played pranks in the streets at night, and went so far at times as to slash people's faces, etc. They are discussed in the *Spectator*, No. 324. Numerous attempts were made to put an end to the order, but with ill success. The Mohocks continued to exist until the close of George the First's reign.

200 2 **The kind and wise old Johnson**: "There is all the difference in the world between characters of nature and characters of manners; and *there* is the difference between the characters of Fielding, and those of Richardson. Characters of manners are very entertaining; but they are to be understood by a more superficial observer than characters of nature, where a man must dive into the recesses of the human heart," Boswell, ed. Hill, Vol. II, p. 55. Elsewhere Johnson spoke of Fielding as a blockhead, a barren rascal. Ibid., p. 199.

200 7 **Gibbon writes**: Gibbon wrote *human manners*, not *humors and manners*, "Miscellanies," Vol. I, p. 4. He also speaks in a note, p. 273, of Fielding as among "the first of ancient or modern romancers."

201 6, 22 **Blifil, Lady Bellaston, Parson Thwackum, Miss Seagrim**: all characters in "Tom Jones." *Charles* and *Joseph Surface* are the two brothers in Sheridan's "School for Scandal."

203 21 **the most charming character in English fiction**: Thackeray, in "Vanity Fair," named his heroine after Fielding's Amelia.

203 23 **Colonel Bath**: a poor and proud gentleman in "Amelia."

203 24 **Colonel Gardiner**, James (1688–1745): a colonel of dragoons,

who after a wild youth, became very devout, fought with incredible courage, and fell finally in the Rebellion of 1745.

203 24 **Duke of Cumberland** : see **136** 4.

204 15 **coup de main** : a deft stroke, a clever move.

STERNE

It is hard to keep in patience with Thackeray's discussion of Sterne, the man. In the first place he fails to make allowance for the great difference between the standards of Sterne's age and the standards of ours. He demands of Sterne what in Sterne's own day only the gravest of the grave would have desired. The greatest fault in Sterne, his lack of any stability, is closely related to his greatest physical infirmity. His was the consumptive temperament, the tendency toward the morbidly emotional, the restlessness, the toying with forbidden and lubricious ideas; a life of sickly passions, sickly moods, feverish depressions and exaltations, ups and downs. He acted at the first impulse, he said, "according as the fly stings." His foolish heart seems undeserving of Thackeray's energetic accusations. Sterne would never have laid claim to most of the virtues that Thackeray assails him for not having, and would doubtless have preferred sensibility, as he called it, to reason and character.

Granting him his point of view, Thackeray's essay is a masterpiece of satirical portraiture, vivid, full of movement, and beguiling the reader to follow the author's lead.

Bibliography. "The Life of Laurence Sterne," by Percy Fitzgerald, 1906. The "Life" by H. D. Traill in the "English Men of Letters" series. "The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne," by Wilbur L. Cross, 1909, — by far the best book on the subject.

209 10 **Trim, Le Fevre, Uncle Toby** : all characters in "Tristram Shandy."

209 10 **montero cap** : from the Spanish for huntsman. "'I would lay my Montero cap,' said Trim. Now Trim's Montero cap, as I once told you, was his constant wager." "Tristram Shandy," p. 422.

209 11 **roquelaure** : a short cloak much worn in the eighteenth century.

211 19 **arroser** : to water.

211 25 **nous arrivâmes**, etc. : We arrived next day at Montpellier, where we found our friend Mr. Sterne, his wife, his daughter, Mr. Huet, and some other English women. I had, I confess, much pleasure in seeing again the good and agreeable Tristram. .... He had been quite a long time at Toulouse, where he would have amused himself but for his wife, who pursued him everywhere and wished to be in everything. The ways of

this good lady have made him pass some pretty bad moments; he bears all these trials with the patience of an angel.

212 1 **It was in December 1767**: Professor Regel (p. 84) in his notes on this lecture, quotes Fitzgerald as saying that in this letter Sterne speaks of himself as forty years old, putting the letter therefore in 1755 instead of 1767, the date selected by Thackeray.

212 2 **Yorick**: the name of a delightful parson in "Tristram Shandy," but used often as a pen name by Sterne himself.

212 4 **Rabelais**, François (1490?–1553?): the great French satirist and humorist, and the author of the monstrous characters, Pantagruel, Panurge, and Gargantua, not unlike the creations of Swift. He was for a time curé of Meudon.

212 13 **jouer des sentiments**: toy with sentiment, banter sentiments.

212 26 **Gray's Letters**: "The quotation given in this footnote is really from two letters of Gray. The first part up to the words 'As to the volumes' is from a letter to Thomas Wharton, April 22, 1760; the second is garbled, and may be found in Gray's letter to Wharton, July, 1760. See Gray's 'Works,' ed. Gosse, II, 36, 53." Phelps, p. 343.

213 4 **Elizabeth Draper**: in the index of "The Life and Times," by W. L. Cross, may be found references for the various phases of Mrs. Draper's relations with Sterne.

214 5: **Bathurst**: see **68** 10.

215 15 **Bramin**: brahmin, a member of the Hindoo priestly caste. The word is here used by Sterne in playful reference to Eliza's living in India. The letter is altered slightly in places. See "Works," ed. Brown, p. 550.

215 (Note 1) **L'amour n'est rien**: love is nothing without sentiment.

216 31 **Uncle Toby's widow**: in "Tristram Shandy." "A daughter of Eve, for such was Widow Wadman, and 'tis all the character I intend to give of her, — That she was a perfect woman."

217 7 **Scarron**, Paul (1610–1660): a French realistic novelist and burlesque writer. In 1638, having become an invalid, he busied himself with writing comedies and farces that gave him the leadership in this field. Later he prepared to emigrate to America, but was prevented by his meeting Mlle. D'Aubigné, whom he married, and who became sometime afterward the famous Madame de Maintenon, mistress, and, according to some authorities, wife, of Louis XIV.

217 7 **Waller**, Edmund (1606–1687): one of the most graceful of the early English lyrists. After the death of his wife he courted Dorothy Sidney, the daughter of the Earl of Leicester, giving her the name of Saccharissa. See Sterne's "Works," ed. J. P. Brown, II, 567.

217 15 **To Lady P——**: "O my dear lady, what a dishclout of a soul hast thou made of me; . . . Would not any man in his senses run diametrically from you and as far as his legs would carry him, rather than thus causelessly, foolishly, and foolhardily expose himself afresh, and afresh where his heart and his reason tells him he should be sure to come off loser, if not totally undone? Why should you tell me you would be glad to see me? Does it give you pleasure to make me more unhappy? . . . or does it add to your triumph that your eyes and lips have turned a man into a fool, whom the rest of the town is counting as a wit? I am a fool, the weakest, the most ductile, the most tender fool, that ever woman tried the weakness of; and the most unsettled in my purpose and resolution of recovering my right mind. 'Tis but an hour ago that I kneeled down and swore that I never would come near you, and, after saying my Lord's Prayer for the sake of the close, of not being led into temptation, — out I sailed like any Christian hero, ready to take the field against the world, the flesh, and the devil . . . And now I am got so near you, . . . I feel myself drawn into a vortex that has turned my brain upside downwards. And though I had purchased a box ticket to carry me to Miss ——'s benefit yet, I know very well that was a single line directed to me to let me know some Lady would be alone at seven and suffer me to spend the evening with her, she would infallibly see everything verified I have told her, etc." Thackeray's use of the letter is based on an error that here becomes unfair to Sterne. The letter to Lady Percy, however objectionable it may be in itself, belongs probably to April, 1765, certainly not to 1767, the date of the Eliza letters. See Cross's "Life and Times," p. 343.

218 (Note 1) **that of Falstaff**: "So 'a cried out! *God, God, God!* three or four times: . . . so 'a bade me lay more clothes on his feet: I put my hand into the bed and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone; then I felt to his knees, and so upward, and upward, and all was as cold as any stone." "Henry V," II, iii, 8.

219 29 **Dr. Ferriar**, John (1761–1815): a physician of Manchester, who, among other essays and dissertations, wrote "Illustrations of Sterne," 1798.

219 34 **Macdonald**, John (not James): was a gentleman's servant who became known as Beau Macdonald. He published in 1790 his "Travels in Various Parts."

220 3 **des chansons grivoises**: rather doubtful songs; off color.

221 6 **the désobligeante**: so called because it could accommodate but one person.

221 17 **le tour est fait**: 'the trick is done.'

221 17 **Paillasse**: a clown, dressed in stripes like the ticking of a mattress, whence the name.

221 22 **Joseph Surface**: the hypocritical brother in Sheridan's "School for Scandal."

222 2 **Monsieur de Soubise's cook**: Charles de Rohan, Prince de Soubise, (1715–1787), was a favorite general and peer of Louis XV, whose favor, together with that of his mistresses the Pompadour and Du Barry, made Soubise marshal in the French army. He lost the battle of Rosbach in 1757, though later he won several victories. He was famous for his luxurious life, and when his camp was plundered after the battle, it was found to be crowded with cooks, actors, hair-dressers, dainties for the table and cosmetics for the toilet. A caricature represented the prince with a lantern in his hand, the day after the battle, looking on the ground, and saying, "I have hunted well, where the devil is my army?"

225 2 **Gascoigne roundelay**: Gascony is an old duchy in southwest France, celebrated for its romance and fighting blood.

225 6 **Viva la joia, fidon la tristessa**: 'long live joy, away with sadness.'

226 1 **double entendre**: double meaning, implying doubtful propriety.

226 8 "**David Copperfield**": Thackeray's children were devoted to Dickens. Dickens wrote a letter the morning after this lecture, thanking Thackeray heartily for the generous reference.

GOLDSMITH

It is pleasant to recall one of Thackeray's letters that tells us of how he spent the morning listening to his daughter read "The Deserted Village." It is interesting, too, to compare Thackeray's treatment with Macaulay's picturesque but more unsympathetic and Boswellian account.

Bibliography. "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith," John Forster, 1854. The "Life" by James Prior, 1837. The "Life" by Washington Irving. Brief lives by William Black and Austin Dobson in the "English Men of Letters" and "Great Writers" series, respectively. There is a recent biography by F. Frankfort Moore.

226 10 **Jeté sur cette boule**: these stanzas, like those from Prior, Thackeray has selected and arranged. They are to be found in any edition of Béranger under the title "Ma Vocation." The first two stanzas, as Thackeray has them, constitute the first stanza in Béranger; Thackeray's third stanza is the first half of Béranger's last stanza.

"Cast on this globe,
Ugly, weak, and suffering,

Smothered in the crowd
For being so little,
A touching plaint
Came from my mouth.
The good God said to me: Sing,
Sing, poor little one!

"To sing, or I mistake,
Is my task here below,
All those I amuse thus
Will they not love me?"

226 22 **Béranger** (1780–1857): popular among the French for his lyrics, political, amatory, philosophical, and satirical.

228 (Note 1) **Herder**, Johann Gottfried von (1744–1803): German philosopher and critic. He attacked the artificial literary spirit of his time, and wrote with insight on various subjects, philological, theological, æsthetic, and political.

231 14 **Poor little ancestors**: note the tender and whimsical quality of the phrase.

231 17 **uncle Contarine**: the husband of Oliver's aunt on his father's side. Though not possessed of large means, he was generous and forgiving to a degree in matters where Oliver was concerned. Goldsmith in his Irish days used to spend many happy hours with Uncle Contarine. See Forster's "Life," Vol. I, Chap. II. The name is derived from an ancient Venetian family, the Contarini.

231 22 "**Mistake of a Night**": the second title to Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer." For the incident, see Forster's "Life," I, 19.

233 18 **buckeen**: a younger son of the second-rate gentry in Ireland.

233 21 **study at the Temple**: the old lodge of the Knights Templars, built in the 12th century; and now Temple Church and the Inns of Court, known as the Inner and Middle Temple, and occupied by a law school.

233 22 **woolsack**: a bag of wool used in the chair of the lord chancellor. In Elizabethan days it was decreed, in order to remind all of the importance of wool, that sacks of wool be placed "in the House of Peers whereon the judges sat."

234 3 **Farheim, Du Petit, and Duhamel du Monceau**: in the letter, Forster's "Life," I, 435, Goldsmith writes Farhein, Petit, and Du Hammel de Monceau. Farhein is a name that has escaped identification. Professor Phelps suggests Ferrein (1693–1769): a professor in the

College of France and in the Jardin des Plantes. Petit, Antoine (1718–1794), succeeded Ferrein in his anatomy professorship in the Jardin des Plantes. Duhamel du Monceau, Henri Louis (1700–1782): a noted botanist, and author of numerous books on the subject.

234 5 **that story which the youth related**: for this delicious and lengthy letter, see Forster's "Life," I, 431.

234 20 **But me not destined**: from the "Traveller," l. 23.

235 7 **that queer coal scuttle**: for this story, see Forster's "Life," I, 170.

235 16 **Sir Joshua Reynolds** (1723–1792): the great portrait painter. He was the first president of the Royal Academy, the author of a book of "Discourses" on art matters, and the founder of the Club to which belonged Johnson, Goldsmith, Garrick, and other famous men. Reynolds is said to have declared that he founded the Club in order to give Dr. Johnson abundant opportunity for talking.

235 18 **Sure, Jack**: Goldsmith said *Sam.* For the incident, see Forster's "Life," I, 85.

235 28 **gooseberry fool**: the epithet comes from Goldsmith's "Retaliation," l. 16. (Noted by Professor Regel.)

"Magnanimous Goldsmith a gooseberry fool."

236 8 **Beattie**, James (1775–1803): a Scotch poet, essayist, and philosophical writer, author of "The Minstrel," "Dissertations," etc.

236 9 **Kelly**, Hugh (1739–1777): playwright and author of essays and discourses. His "False Delicacy" was produced at Garrick's theater in rivalry with Goldsmith's "Good-natured Man."

237 4 **when Newbery kept back the manuscript**: for the sale of the "Vicar of Wakefield" manuscript, see Forster's "Life," II, 359. Various reasons, the chief of which was probably lack of confidence on the publisher's part in the sale of the work, delayed the publication for two years, by which time Goldsmith was already famous as the author of the "Traveller."

237 6 **Colman's actors**: George Colman, himself a playwright, was the manager of Covent Garden. He hesitated for months about producing "She Stoops to Conquer," but was finally induced to do so, chiefly at the solicitations of Dr. Johnson. When the time came for the rehearsals, the actors, following the manager, refused to play the parts of young Marlow and Tony Lumpkin, and worst of all Mrs. Abingdon, for whom Goldsmith had talked of writing the part, would not play Miss Hardcastle. Johnson, Reynolds, and others came to the rehearsals and applauded, but Colman remained hopeless, even to the point of refusing

to provide new scenery and costumes. We have a letter from Goldsmith, written after the success of the comedy, in which his weariness appears: "I cannot help saying I am very sick of the stage," and he proceeds to relate his troubles in connection with the Prologue and the Epilogue. See Forster's "Life," II, 330.

After the triumphant success of the play, however, it was Colman's time to suffer. He was literally pelted with lampoons, squibs of every sort, accused of jealousy and a dozen other motives for keeping the play back. Irving, in Chap. XXXVII of his "Life," quotes one of these squibs: —

TO GEORGE COLMAN, Esq

On the Success of Dr. Goldsmith's New Comedy.

"Come, Coley, doff those mourning weeds,
Nor thus with jokes be flamm'd;
Tho' Goldsmith's present play succeeds,
His next may still be damn'd.

As this has 'scaped without a fall,
To sink his next prepare;
New actors hire from Wapping Wall
And dresses from Rag Fair.

For scenes let tattered blankets fly,
The prologue Kelly write;
Then swear again the piece must die
Before the author's night.

Should these tricks fail, the lucky elf,
To bring to lasting shame,
E'en write *the best you can yourself*,
And print it in *his name*."

237 11 **Fox**, Charles James (1749–1806): lord of the Admiralty, lord of the treasury, etc., member of the Club. He wrote a "History of the Revolution of 1688." He opposed Pitt on numerous occasions. A few days before his death he moved the abolition of the slave trade. See the "Dictionary of National Biography."

237 29 **to one Griffiths**: Griffiths, the bookseller, was the proprietor of the *Monthly Review*. Goldsmith had served him as a reviewer, but the two had disagreed, and Griffiths had attacked several of Goldsmith's writings.

The painful letter here referred to may be found in Forster's "Life," I, 160. Forster regards the affair as of no unusual importance, but as resulting from Goldsmith's imprudent charity having driven him to deposit the books with a friend in return for a loan. The letter is a second one, and in reply to an unexpectedly harsh one from Griffiths.

238 32 **Mr. Mickle**, William Junius (1735–1788): born in Edinburgh, but lived mainly in England, was a poet of some fame in his day. He is the author of "There's nae luck about the house." See Palgrave's "Golden Treasury," first series, No. 194. The "Lusiad" is by Camoens (1524–1580), the greatest epic poet of Portugal.

240 5 **Here, as I take my solitary rounds**: from "The Deserted Village," l. 77.

241 23 **Utopia**: the ideal country in the book of the same name, by Sir Thomas More (1478–1535).

241 24 **Yvetot**: a hamlet in Normandy, whose lords in the fifteenth century assumed the title of king. Béranger has a ballad, "Il etait un roi d'Yvetot," known in English through various translations and adaptations, among which latter there is one by Thackeray. See Vol. 24, p. 135, the Biographical Edition.

242 1 **my Lord Clare and my Lord Nugent**: really one man, Goldsmith's old friend Robert Nugent (1702–1788), who had become Baron Nugent and Viscount Clare.

242 6 **Ranelagh**: Ranelagh was opened in 1742, and became the rival of Vauxhall Garden as a place of amusement and recreation. Goldsmith and Reynolds used to go often together to Ranelagh, and Dr. Johnson also was fond of its pleasures.

"Ranelagh looks like the enchanted palace of a geni, adorned with the most exquisite performances of painting, carving, and gilding, enlightened with a thousand golden lamps, that emulate the noonday sun; crowded with the great, the rich, the gay, the happy, and the fair; glittering with cloth of gold and silver, lace, embroidery, and precious stones. While these exulting sons and daughters of plenty tread their round of pleasure, or regale in different parties and separate lodges with fine imperial tea and other delicious refreshments, their ears are entertained with the most ravishing delights of music, both instrumental and vocal." "Humphrey Clinker," p. 144. A charming account of Ranelagh may be found in Mr. Austin Dobson's "Eighteenth Century Vignettes," first series.

242 6 **the Pantheon**: a place similar to Ranelagh, built 30 years later.

242 7 **Madame Cornelys**, Theresa (1723–1795): the daughter of a Venetian actor, first directed several continental theaters, and later sang in England. She established herself at Carlyle House, Soho Square,

and managed there fashionable subscription balls, masquerades, and concerts. She died at last bankrupt in the Fleet Prison.

242 8 **Mary Horneck**: together with her sister Catherine, came into Goldsmith's life only in his forty-second year. Mary, the Jessamy Bride, was not married till a year after Goldsmith's death. Romance has gathered around her and pictured Goldsmith as loving her deeply and hopelessly. However that may be, it is a fact that she exercised a charm for Goldsmith, and that he spent some of his happiest hours with the two sisters. The story is known in fiction through Frankfort Moore's "The Jessamy Bride" (1897).

242 15 **Beauclerk**, Topham (1739–1780): one of Dr. Johnson's most devoted friends, a man of culture and reading, well known as a conversationalist. He left a library of 30,000 volumes.

242 16 **Tom Davies**: see note for p. **48**, Note 2.

243 3 **Bunbury**, Henry William (1750–1811): a clever amateur artist and caricaturist. Besides many drawings and prints, he did a series of burlesque illustrations for "Tristram Shandy." His personal charm and family connections gave him easy access to the society of the great.

243 4 **Gilray**: should be Gillray, James (1757–1815), was a caricaturist like Bunbury, but more satirical. He burlesqued the royal family, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, Napoleon, and others.

243 16 **Hazlitt**, William (1778–1830): well known as an essayist and critic, was the friend of Lamb, Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and most of the great men of his time. He was the author of "Table Talk," "The Spirit of the Age," and other writings.

243 17 **Northcote**, James (1746–1831): was a pupil of Reynolds, whose memoirs he wrote. Hazlitt published some of Northcote's conversations, 1830.

243 19 **The younger Colman**: George Colman, the younger (1761–1836), dramatist; author of "The Heir at Law," "John Bull," and other plays, of comic poems, and of "Random Records," a kind of autobiography. Thackeray has changed in several minor instances the original text; see "Broad Grins and Other Humourous Works" of George Colman, ed. G. B. Buckstone, p. 429.

244 20 **I plucked his gown to share the good man's smile**: from "The Deserted Village," l. 184.

244 28 **his "compassion for another's woe"**: from "The Deserted Village," l. 371.

247 21 **grand homme incompris**: the great man not understood.

Note the very graceful and happy conclusion of the lectures.

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